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The Century Social Science Series

COMMUNISM AND FASCISM

Books IV and V, Contemporary Social Movements

BY

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NEW YORK

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BOOK IV

COMMUNISM

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QUESTIONS ON COMMUNISM

1. What caused the Bolshevik Movement? What are the causes of any revolution? Are any of these causes at work in America?
2. What is the theory of Communism?
3. What are the main features of the economic plan which the Communists are following? What do you think are its chief weaknesses and its chief advantages? Do you think incentive to achievement will be destroyed?
4. Which do you think the greater leader, Lenin or Stalin? Why?
5. How much democracy and freedom is there in the Russian government?
6. To what extent does the Communist Party control the Russian government?
7. How do the Russian Trade Unions differ from those in America? Better, or worse, and why?
8. Should the Bolshevik government suppress the Communist International? Why?
9. How has the position of the family been changed in Russia since the Revolution?
10. Make a balance sheet of Bolshevism, or list the chief favorable and unfavorable features of Communism.
11. State briefly the chief acts of America and the Allies towards Soviet Russia. Which were wise and which unwise?
12. What should be an American policy towards Russia? Should we recognize her government? Why? Why not?

QUESTIONS FOR THOUGHT

(*To be answered or not, as desired*)

1. Compare and contrast Capitalism and Communism. What aspects of each do you favor and oppose? Why?
2. What is the evidence for and against a World War in the future to be followed by a World Revolution?
3. What lessons can America learn from the Communist Movement?

I. HISTORY AND CAUSES

I. REVOLUTIONS

SO FAR we have been discussing movements which have been largely idealistic concepts in the minds of men. For the most part they have not been really tried over a large area or a long period. We now come to a program which is actually in process of being tried and is in its second decade of power.

The actual establishment of the Communistic theory in the life of Russia necessitated a revolution. The history of mankind points to the continued recurrence of a phenomenon which we describe by the word, revolution. It is too early in the development of sociological thought to lay down the laws of the evolution of revolutions; we can, however, put forward certain tentative hypotheses. For the purposes of our thought we would define revolution as *a shift of the center of dominance in society.* Surveying these ever recurring social upheavals in human history one seems to discover an evolutionary sequence.

First: *Revolutions are a long time germinating.* This was certainly true of the French Revolution, where mismanagement of government was pronounced by 1700 and yet the actual revolution did not come for nearly a hundred years. It is even more apparent in Russia, where for centuries the despotism of the autocracy was notorious. Ivan the Terrible has come down in Russian history under that name, but it was not until Nicholas the II, centuries later, that the final explosion occurred.

Second: *The revolutionary culmination is usually preceded by danger signals.* These may take the form of strikes, assassinations, imprisonments, or general dissatisfaction and unrest. This can be seen very clearly by any one who has studied the historical antecedents of Communism.

Third: *To be successful the revolution must deal with real life problems of the masses.* Otherwise it is not at all likely to secure the support which will make it successful.

Fourth: *A revolution is usually preceded by the "transfer of the allegiance of the intellectuals."* Discontent spreads to editors, teachers and others who have influence in molding public opinion.

Fifth: *The outbreak of the revolution is near when a majority of all classes,*[1] *except the ruling clique, oppose the old system.* The ratio of those who are loyal to the ruling clique in contrast to those who are dissatisfied is a natural index to the possibility of overturn.

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[1] Or in some cases a majority of the conscious, thinking, politically-active workers.

Sixth: *An active basic theory develops which is at variance with that on which the existing order is founded.* Around it the forces of discontent can crystallize, and upon it leadership of the masses can be organized.

Seventh: *A powerful minority leadership develops which enlists the support of the masses to challenge the ruling group.*

Eighth: *The actual overthrow usually necessitates a national or international crisis which upsets the equilibrium of the ruling group.*

Ninth: *To be permanently successful revolutions must inspire idealistic devotion to a cause.* This is very clearly brought out in the Russian Revolution, for the enthusiastic Communist is passionately devoted to the cause which he believes to be right.

Tenth: *There is a tendency toward the ascendancy of radicals.* The conservatives are out of sympathy with change, the moderate reformers are incapable of taking the drastic action necessary to meet the wishes of the masses in a revolutionary epoch.

Eleventh: *Control of the political mechanism is usually followed by repression against the conservatives or other supporters of the status quo.* The conservatives are trying to destroy the Revolution and kill its leaders. To down the conservatives is a matter of life or death for the new order. This is seen in its extremes in the use of the guillotine during the French Revolution and in the Red Teror in Russia.

Twelfth: *There is a slow crystallization into a stable social order.* The populace always tires of violence. The radicals learn the necessity of law and order, and a new social system is evolved.

2. A SOCIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION [2]

In March, 1917, the epoch-making Russian revolution startled a world already becoming callous to war-made changes. In the following November, with little or no opposition, the Bolsheviks seized the power and attempted to put into immediate operation a complete Marxian and Communistic scheme of control. In order to understand the cause of a great social mutation or revolution, we must understand the degree of likeness between the ruling and non-ruling classes. We must then study the coercive pressure of the dominant group which stimulated or hindered the explosion. Let us consider, first, the factors in the Russian situation which made for unlikeness between the proletarian masses, whom we shall term the workers or peasants, and the educated aristocratic class.

[2] By Jerome Davis. Reprinted through the courtesy of the *Political Science Quarterly.* From Vol. XXXVII, No. 2 (June, 1922).

The Biologic Factor.—The population of the Russian empire in 1912 consisted of over 180,000,000 people. They were divided roughly into a class of workers and peasants comprising 93 per cent of the population, and an upper or ruling group of about 7 per cent. A great middle class such as is found in England or our own country was absent. Within the population there was a conglomeration of over one hundred races or nationalities speaking different languages or dialects. The empire comprised groups as far separated from each other as, for example, over five million Jews of German extraction, nine million Mongolians and several million Tartars. The significant fact to remember is that while there were these opposite racial types with their widely diverging racial traits, they occurred quite exclusively within the proletarian 93 per cent of the population, the upper 7 per cent being for the most part of pure Slavic stock. By a rigid exclusion, Jews were kept down from any important post either social or political. In Turkestan, where Mohammedans predominated, the ruling classes were Russian Slavs, although 93 per cent of the population could not even speak Russian. The ruling classes then were for the most part racially alike, whereas the peasants were a scattered mixture of varying racial stocks. As a whole, the latter could be expected to react more variously to given stimuli than would the upper racially similar group. This was true because in the historical evolution of the Russian empire the pure Russian Slavic group had been in the main dominant and hence tended to retain control in its own hands.

The Geographic Factor.—Until the World War the Russian empire consisted of the stupendous area of 8,600,000 square miles, or over twice that of all Europe. Siberia alone was over forty times as large as the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Within this huge territory there is a wide divergence in temperature, from the hot tropical climmate of the deserts in Turkestan to the cold arctic regions of Archangel. Although there are sections which are rich in timber, mineral and oils, the absence of railroads and manufacturing has, for the most part, prevented their utilization. Russia embraces the greatest plain in the world. At no point in its wide sweep does it rise to an altitude of over 1,400 feet. It is watered by three great river-highways—the Volga, the Dnieper and the Western Dvina. The proletarian masses, provided by nature with this rich and fertile region, have tilled the soil for generations. In 1912, 86 per cent of the population was rural. The masses were compelled to be peasants by the nature of geographical forces. There was little opportunity for venturesome spirits to break the monotony. In industry conditions were hard. In 1900 the average monthly pay of an adult male worker was only about twenty roubles or ten dollars. The hours of labor were long, seldom averaging less than twelve a day, and the men were not permitted to organize. Moreover, even if they did go to the factory for the winter, they were likely to drift back to the fields in summer. As a result there was a likemindedness of the proletariat brought about by a common occupation, the product of similar geographic stimuli. The peasant with a factory experience may have received some new ideas, but he was essentially a peasant.

Furthermore, the great mass of the population live in a cold climate. In winter the rivers are frozen solid and the plain is covered over with snow. This causes a relaxation of energy; for many months tillage is impossible. It makes also for communal organization, for home industries. Generations of common work in a common climate have tended to establish certain well-defined cultural habits among the masses.

The aristocrats and the educated—the 7 per cent—are not bound to the soil. They can go south in the winter, or visit the Caucasus or the Crimea in the summer, or perhaps even make an excursion abroad. The soil which molds the task of the peasant is not a compelling power in shaping their interests.

The biologic and geographic factors already mentioned would be sufficient to make for large differences between the rulers and the ruled, but far outweighing these are the dissimilarities in culture. The social heritage of each is in large measure separate.

Religion.—So far as religion was concerned, the aristocracy, if they had any, were technically of the established Orthodox faith. Thousands of them, however, were frankly skeptics and even those who were not had a belief with an entirely different content from that of the peasants. To them the priest was an inferior who must obey their wishes. God had ordained them to a superior station in life. The Tsar believed firmly that he was divinely appointed to rule. The common people, on the other hand, held various faiths. Besides the millions of Jews, there were Mohammedans and Roman Catholics. Even the peasants who belonged to the Orthodox Church went away from its services with quite another feeling than that of the nobility. They were enchanted with the mysteries of the church, its magnificent interiors, inspiring music, burning candles, and priests in golden robes. They had to pay their tribute to the latter even if it meant starvation at home. Underneath their devout exteriors the priests often acted as agents of the Tsar's police and usually obeyed the dictates of the upper classes. They were men to be feared and obeyed. The dominant group saw to it that the church was subservient to its interests and this inevitably widened the breach between the two classes. As a matter of fact, the whole religious experience of the common people built up an attitude of mind quite foreign to that of the nobility. The former had a superstitious faith that God would provide. This is indicated by some of their proverbs. "God, who gave us teeth, will also give us the bread." God gave us the body; he will also give us health." Some among them recognized vaguely the cost to themselves of the building and maintenance of their own churches and would quote the following proverb, "The church is not built of logs, but of [human] ribs." Their religious feeling also resulted in superstitious practices. A friend of mine in Russia once noticed the people trying to stop the spread of fire by placing the ikon, or religious picture, between the conflagration and the next house. Most of these superstitions and proverbs were not even known by the educated and those that were, frequently provoked derision. Thus the masses had quite a different religious heritage from the aristocrats. It made for unlikeness between them.

Education.—In matters of education there was a far greater disparity between the two than in religion. In 1912 investigation showed that less than 4 per cent of the entire population were in school and of these the largest number were from the aristocratic class. According to the report of the investigating committee of the Third Duma, the educational influence which the schools exerted among the peasants was insignificant. Many children, soon after leaving, were found to be illiterate —the terms were for only four or five months in the winter, anyway. It is no wonder that at the time the war broke out, 50 per cent of the soldiers could not even sign their own names, and nearer 70 per cent could not read. The peasants even acquired a jargon of their own which was not always intelligible to their superiors. In contrast to this lack of education, the children of the nobility were sent to the very best schools or had private tutors. They were always taught some foreign language, and frequently two or three. Often French was as commonly spoken as Russian. Books from Germany, France, England, America and Russia were available to them. All this was a bond of social solidarity drawing together the upper classes, but separating them all the more from the common masses. Parallel to the dialect of the peasants, the language of the aristocracy was polished, another fact which tended, to some extent, to inhibit easy communication.

Not only was this difference present, but it was deliberately fostered by the ruling classes. Newspapers and magazines were carefully kept out of the reach of the peasants, and those that had the remotest chance of being read by them were carefully censored. One example of the ruthlessness with which this ignorance was jealously guarded is the following: The peasants in one village painfully saved up their money by various sacrifices and purchased a moving-picture machine with American films. They hoped to learn something in spite of their illiteracy. On the first night the pictures were shown, the Tsar's police broke into the meeting, confiscated the machine, and exiled the operator to Siberia.

Traditions, Folkways and Folksayings.—The result of no education for the masses was the building-up of whole congeries of traditions, folkways and proverbs which were handed on by word of mouth. These were the exclusive social heritage of the peasants, and, for anyone of the upper class to understand them, a lifetime of study was required. The peasant had no national heroes such as help to galvanize our Western societies. The nearest approach to them were revolutionists who opposed the government, such as Stenika Razin. The average peasant will say he sees no use in the acquisition of huge blocks of new territory, a tradition of empire-building, that he is no better off because of it, that, on the contrary, every war has had a disastrous effect on his own fortunes. To use Veblen's phrase, the cultural incidence of the peasant's way of life created a viewpoint always different from that of the nobility. For example, the sight of those who have been arrested awakens in the mind of the peasant only a feeling of sympathy and pity. He never calls such an unfortunate wicked, but *reschastny,* or unlucky.

The propertied classes, on the other hand, could look on quite unfeelingly while a peasant was being flogged. They had been taught that the State and the Tsar were supreme and were always right. The two things which were impressed on the Russian officer throughout his military training were first, loyalty to the Tsar, and second, loyalty to the nation. The clause "loyalty to the nation" seldom implied to the Russian officer loyalty to the people; the thought had never entered his mind. The propertied classes in their turn built up a set of ideals, customs, etiquette and social usage, a good share of which the peasant did not even know about, much less understand.

Recreation.—The gentry were also separated from the peasants by a wide divergence in their recreational life. The latter have the most simple folk pastimes. On Sundays and holidays the young men and girls go for festival walks to the accompaniment of their musical instrument, the *balilika.* Their main enjoyment seems to be playful conversation, music and the out-of-doors. The peasant falls heir to a wealth of folksongs. There are historical epics, and lyrics of love, warfare and death. There are nature songs welcoming back the sun after the winter, besides special ones for every festival. Some of these are in honor of those who have revolted against the government, as is the following:

On the waters of our little-mother Volga
The storm is lashing, and the waves rise high;
Alone a tiny boat is battling
Alone 'midst the fury of the gale;
But look! at the helm there stands a figure,
Scorning death in the waters dark and grim,
'Tis the hero of our little-mother Volga,
Our Stenika Razin.

The aristocracy in contrast to these simple pleasures had their card, dancing and theatre parties. Tolstoy tells us that it was considered good form for every young man to have had at least one intrigue with an older married woman; and drinking, gambling and dissipation were all but universal. Prince Kropotkin says that large sums were squandered in amusements abroad. Certain German sanitariums were built exclusively for the purpose of caring for Russians who had become ill in the cafés of Paris.

Occupation.—Another important factor making for unlikeness between the common mind and the aristocrat was the difference in occupation. Instinctive responses are reconditioned by the particular experiences the individual undergoes. Chief among these is his occupation, yet more of a contrast than existed between the classes in this respect can hardly be imagined. The peasant was compelled to till the soil, and his portion was continually dwindling in size. Since the liberation of the serfs in the sixties until the pre-war period, the amount of land held by the individual peasant had fallen nearly one-half. Whenever crops were at all below normal, large numbers were forced to live on what amounted to a starvation diet. Where the Mir existed, whatever land there was, was owned in common by the entire village. Each peasant received a narrow strip between two and ten yards wide, which included both good and bad land, and the parts were often widely separated. The nobility took little interest in stimulating production and supplying modern equipment, so that agricultural backwardness was the inevitable result. Wooden plows and harrows were in common use; ropes or fibre thongs were the chief material for the harness of carts or plows. Moreover, the peasant felt that he was being cheated out of what he produced on the land. For generations his ancestors had tilled the soil, and the landlord had reaped the benefit. Some day the greedy landlords will be dispossessed, was the constant thought of the peasant, who believed that not he who held the title but he who tilled the property was really entitled to own it. In the peasant courts, where law is administered on the basis of custom and folkways, labor is recognized as "having rights superior to property and even kinship." Sons-in-law, stepsons and adopted sons have all the inheritance rights of children born in the home, and the firstborn son is debarred if he does not take part in the common work.

The landowners and the nobility on their part were taught that it was beneath their dignity to do menial labor. It was their due to enjoy a life of leisure, or at least a position of comfort in the governmental employ. In the latter position a special costume was required to be worn and a system of medals, distinctions and honors added to the prestige enjoyed.

Home Conditions.—Perhaps most striking of all the influences tending to make for unlikeness were the home conditions. The Russian peasants crave society, and all live together in a village. The little wooden huts with thatched roofs usually contain but one room and a shed. The one room is kitchen, living-room and bedroom, besides being used for a calf-pen, pig-sty, lamb- or horse-stall in cold weather. In summer the children sleep outside, doors and windows are open, and the entire family spend the day in the fields. But in winter when all sleep in one room and the windows and doors are tightly closed, conditions are not enviable. The diet of the peasant is largely vegetarian. His bill of fare is made up chiefly of rye bread, potatoes, milk products, and the various vegetables in season. Nevertheless famines recur periodically and thousands starve as they did in 1891 and 1899. Disease in prevalent owing to the lack of sanitation and doctors. In America we have one physician to every eight hundred persons, but in the country districts in Russia there was only one for every 21,000. The Russian peasant usually had a large family, as is evidenced by the rapid increase of the population as a whole, in spite of the high death rate. A woman works at least as hard as her husband, if not harder. Ordinarily she milks the cow, feeds the poultry and live stock, cooks, washes, cares for the children, and in summer toils in the fields with the men.

Across the gulf of caste the educated classes lived in the best European style, surrounded by every comfort that money could buy. In case of illness they could summon capable professional help from the town. The magnificence and luxury of some of the homes can hardly be realized by those who have not seen the actual palaces on the banks of the Niva in Petrograd. The difference between the peasant and landlord was most tellingly felt in the famine years when the peasants and their children would die by the thousand, whereas the artistocracy were living on the fat of the land. Prince Kropotkin told me about one of the serfs on a nearby estate who during a famine period timidly came up to the landlord's door to beg a little bread for his children, only to be taken out and whipped for his impudence.

Peasants Absolutely Unlike the Aristocracy.—All of these factors made the 93 per cent of the population quite unlike the upper 7 per cent. We can almost say that they were separated from each other in their thinking more completely than the United States is separated today from Europe, for between America and Europe there is at least a constant stream of interchange of ideas, communications and speakers. Almost every year some international gathering occurs such as a peace conference, a labor gathering, or a disarmament conference. In Russia national meetings were carefully censored or prohibited altogether and there was no adequate means for the interchange of ideas between the peasants and the aristocrats.

Added to this was a caste system which excluded a man born a peasant from rising above his class except on occasions of rare good luck such as a particularly heroic deed on the battlefield, or the saving of the life of one of the nobility.

As a matter of fact, the aristocrats lived in a world so removed from that of the peasants that they did not even realize that they were separated.

The proprietary classes did not understand why a peasant should steal in a famine year. Some of them did not even realize that the peasant had feelings, that he really fell in love, or had sympathies, and an appreciation for art and beauty. How absolute was this line of demarcation is shown by the fact that Prince Kropotkin told me of a landlord's wife who was astounded to see a peasant girl break into tears on hearing that a certain soldier had been killed at the front. She could not believe it possible for the peasant classes to be really in love. Another noble saw nothing wrong with the fact that wounded soldiers had been left for hours by the railroad track, uncared for, although there had been room in the hospital car with the officers. It shocked him to think of soldiers riding in the same car with officers.

Circumstantial and Social Pressure.—We have now reviewed the facts which made for unlikeness in Russia. The 93 per cent were radically unlike the 7 per cent. Let us next consider the circumstantial pressure or its product, the social pressure, which, as we have indicated, is a second factor in every social change. This acts in two ways, as a binder and as a stimulus. Unlike groups as characteristically as unlike individual organisms react in unlike ways, and if in close contact tend to have conflict. Consequently the dominant group erects a binder of coercive pressure about the other. This frequently curbs instinctive desires and reactions and so itself acts as a stimulus to revolt. Such was the case in Russia.

In 1905 the world had the greatest warning of impending disaster that has occurred in recent history. Suddenly an entire nation of workers and peasants struck. Armed risings of peasants broke out spasmodically all over Russia. Not understanding the handwriting on the wall, the upper classes became alarmed and persuaded the Tsar to grant certain reforms. It was soon apparent, however, that neither he nor the nobility had the faintest conception of the longings of the masses, for at the first opportunity he violated his most sacred pledges to the people, suppressed newsapers, arrested hundreds and disbanded the legislative assembly.

For years Russia had had a slowly falling barometer of nihilist and anarchistic assassinations and plots. The nobility were too far removed from the common people to understand what was wrong. As in a chemical mixture capable of causing high explosion, the elements within the Russian empire had long been in the proper proportions to cause the most serious castastrophe in Russian history. In spite of this, the explosion was delayed for a time by the strong governmental pressure of a highly bureaucratic and centralized system backed by the ruthless use of force. The racial and religious divergencies among the masses, which we have indicated, acted as one deterrent. Peasants from one district were always used to quell disorder in another where the customs and habits of the people and perhaps even the language or dialect were quite different. At every point the peasants were hemmed in by government officials who restricted their every movement. The *Ispravnik,* or police commissioner, had general supervision over each district. His will was law. He could fine or imprison any one he chose. Under him was the *Uriadnik,* or constable, also having absolute power but subject to the disapproval of the *Ispravnik.* He could enter any house at any time of day or night to make inspection without a warrant. Besides these officials there was the *Zemsky Nachalnik* who had administration over all the rural institutions and was higher than the *Uriadnik.* He could depose the elected officials of the peasant commune or Mir and order any peasant flogged. He belonged to the nobility and naturally would not betray their interests. The only way to placate an angry official was through bribery. Taxes were extremely heavy, in some cases more than the total income from the land. Yet since the village commune was responsible collectively for the payment of the tax, and the peasant could not by law leave his village without its consent, he was hopelessly under bondage. The least delinquency might result in imprisonment and a heavy flogging. An elaborate system of espionage was used to make still more difficult any resistance on the part of the peasant. Yet the very pressure of this coercive force acted as a stimulus to revolt. By its action it generated the friction which would make for its own negation.

The Revolutionists.—When two unlike groups react against each other, it may happen that a third group is produced. In Russia some from among the educated classes had at least partially broken through the wall which separated them from the peasants. They were the ones who had the sympathy and imagination to see the differences between the upper classes and the masses and to realize that some change must come. But they were prophets without honor. As soon as the group voiced their feelings the Tsar's machine took action. They were either silenced, exiled or jailed. This experience intensified the unlikeness between them and the ruling class. At the same time, workers who had attempted to protest against the condition were also arrested by the hundred. In the Tsar's jails and in exile these two groups shared a like experience and became more or less likeminded. How partial this was, at best, can be seen from the experience of Dostievsky, the writer. He was born into a family belonging to the lowest ranks of the nobility, to the social group which furnished the minor public servants. He was arrested and exiled to Siberia for a remark made at a literary club about the necessity of liberating the serfs. In the Siberian prisons he was in constant association with peasants, yet he could not break down the obstacles which centuries had erected between the classes. He once tried to join a hunger strike of the prisoners, a protest against their inadequate diet, but the others were suspicious. They said, "Why should you join in the strike? You buy your own food." Dostievsky says it was one of the saddest experiences of his whole prison life. He realized that if he should remain in the prison for a century he would never bridge the gulf of class. Neverthless, a small but energetic protocracy of revolutionists was being created. There were thus three groups in Russia, the large peasant masses, a small militant revolutionary group, and the 7 per cent aristocracy. Of the three, the peasants and the revolutionary group were the nearest alike, but to some extent the moderate revolutionists did understand the aristocracy and shared their views. In so far as this was true, they acted as a mediating group between the other two.

Adopting Marxian Theory.—The more bitterly the revolutionists were persecuted, the more firmly convinced they became that there was nothing to be hoped for from the Tsar's government. It was natural that they should look about for better theories of government. Now Germany and France were alive with the Marxian dogmas and it was only to be expected that the overwhelming majority of the revolutionists should adopt such theories wholesale, for their humanitarian ideas and reactions had been suppressed by persecution. Many of them had fled abroad after years of suffering under the Tsar's system and, pursued by the Tsar's spies, naturally sought the "aid and comfort" of the radicals of other lands. This created common bonds of likeness between them and a common philosophy of life and government. Moreover the extreme bitterness of the struggle in Russia and the contrasts in wealth and poverty helped to create a desire to have all the control, even of factories and property, in the hands of the 93 per cent. One has only to read such biographies as *The Little Grandmother of the Russian Revolution,* or a revolutionary history such as *The Birth of the Russian Democracy* to see the influence of the Tsar's machine on the revolutionists. His very binder of jails, repression and exile, which was intended to suppress unlike reactions to the government and the régime of privilege, itself served as a stimulus and warped the minds of the revolters still further from the average or norm of their class. We can realize this very clearly if we take the lives of two prominent Bolsheviks. Lenin was born in the city of Simbirsk fifty years ago, where his father was director of the high school. When he was seventeen, his elder brother was hanged by the Tsar for taking part in a student revolutionary movement. When Lenin entered the university he was promptly excluded. Nevertheless, after four years of private study he did succeed in passing the examination for the bar, but was arrested in Petrograd soon afterwards for organizing a group of workers. After a long period in jail, he was exiled to Siberia in the latter nineties, where he wrote two books, *The Aim of the Social Democratic Party* and *The Growth of Capitalism in Russia.* As a result of their publication, Russia became too hot for him, and he fled abroad, joining the revolutionary group of Russians in Switzerland. It is obvious that such an experience, beginning with the death of his brother on the gallows, and ending with imprisonment and exile, would warp the mind and outlook of anyone. In 1903 at a conference of the Social Democratic Party, Lenin led a faction which pledged itself to "pure revolutionary action" without any compromise with the bourgeois parties. His faction secured the majority of the delegates and ever since has been nicknamed the majority, or *Bolshevik.*

Another of the prominent Bolshevik leaders, Leonid B. Krassin, Commissioner of Trade, was a native of Siberia. He entered the Petrograd Technological Institute, and was expelled three years later for participating in a student mutiny. In 1892 he was serving in the army but was arrested in connection with the case of a Social Democrat distributing propaganda among railway workers. Exile to Siberia was the penalty; there he gained considerable reputation by constructing a railroad. For this achievement he was permitted to return to the technical institute but was again expelled in 1898. He next supervised the construction of a central electric station at Baku, at the same time helping to establish printing presses for propaganda purposes. In 1901 he was a member of the central committee of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party and was arrested in consequence, in 1905. He managed to escape to Switzerland and after some negotiation his friends secured permission for him to return to Petrograd to run the cable system. Once more his revolutionary activity became known and he was forced abroad. This time he went to Germany and secured appointment as a representative of a German firm which had high influence in the Tsar's court. His recognized ability was such that at the outbreak of the war the Russia government placed him in charge of certain of the German manufacturing plants. He retained this position until he joined the Bolshevik government.

In both these cases we have men who have had long records of exile and imprisonment. Had they been born in America with their initiative and ability, they might have held posts of honor in the commonwealth. Born in Russia and subject to the Tsar's coercive pressure, they adopted Marxian views and became revolutionary leaders. Their experience in the jails and in exile profoundly affected their theories. We have now and then seen something of the same sort happen in the United States. There are those who would say that it has been exemplified in Eugene Debs, long a Democratic party supporter, who was jailed for refusing to obey an injunction, and thereafter became the Socialist party's candidate for the presidency.

The Revolution.—In spite of the unlikeness of the masses and the activity of the revolutionists, the Tsar's binder of circumstantial pressure was too strong to permit an overthrow of the existing order. But in case of war the peasants could be conscripted and plunged into the maelstrom to become cannon fodder over issues about which they knew little and cared less. It was thus in the World War that Russia mobilized sixteen million men; they were snatched from their homes, perhaps not to return on furlough during three long years of war. Their wage was the mere pittance of twenty-five cents a month. They ate out of a common dishpan, seven soldiers dipping their wooden spoons into the same bowl for their noonday meal. There was little or no welfare work done for them; they died like flies. These great masses of soldiers were alike, but it took nearly three years of association together at the front and in the garrison cities for them to realize their power. The intimate association and contact of life in the trenches had created a conscious solidarity which had never before been felt. The Tsar himself had wrecked his own powerful binder of circumstantial pressure, which before had prevented the revolution, by placing in the hands of millions of likeminded soldiers machine guns and rifles. It needed only a few sparks from a hungry mob in Petrograd to set off the greatest explosion of the Twentieth Century. The Tsar was swept aside, a Temporary Government was appointed, and behind the scenes were ruling Councils of Soldiers, Workers and Peasant's Deputies.

The Temporary Government.—At once the upper classes began to understand something of the gulf that separated them from the masses. Said a general in Turkestan: "Before, I could shoot a man if he did not follow my order; today I must reason with him. I feel like a man who has been eating Russian food all his life and is suddenly forced to eat Chinese food with chop sticks. My stomach won't stand it." One Russian officer, realizing at last that he did not understand the people, said, "All my life I have had a little fence around my brain shutting me off from the common people." Even after the revolution it was impossible to break down these mental barriers, as is evidenced by the following typical illustration. Soon after the revolution an order was issued stating that hereafter officers need not be addressed as "Your highborn excellency." One colonel on being informed of this change by his adjutant exclaimed in great rage, "Do you mean to tell me that some insignificant dirt of a soldier will call me simply Mr. Colonel?" On being assured that it was the latest order, the colonel jumped up, smashed his chair into splinters on the floor and left the regiment never to return.

After the revolution the Temporary Government, made up of various coalition parties, was supposed to be in full control. In reality the soviets of soldiers, workers and peasants were the real power. Whereas the soviets were composed of the representatives of the masses and therefore like them, the Temporary Government included such of the intellectuals as Miliukov and Gutchkov. How far unlike the common people they were is now apparent to everyone. The Foreign Minister, Miliukov, stated to the world that the Russian people wanted to fight until they could add Constantinople to their empire. In reality the common peole did not care about fighting for one foot of foreign soil, and were even willing to sacrifice some that they had. So unpopular was his declaration that Miliukov was compelled to resign at once. The stern logic of events has forced many of the intellectuals to realize how widely separated they really were, and the Temporary Government was, from the common people. Baron

Rosen, for example, is to-day willing to admit: "There is an almost impassable gulf of mutual non-comprehension which divides the masses and the classes in Russia. The desire to fight and the yearning of the people for Constantinople are creations of the brain of an infinitesimally small—compared with the bulk of the nation—circle of intellectuals, who, by the control of the press and their influence on the government, are enabled to create the illusion of 'public opinion.'" Kerensky and those in the government still continued to talk war and complete agreement with Allied aims.

On the other hand, the Bolsheviks, who for the moment were far more like the common people in their thinking, readily won converts by the thousand with their popular slogan, "Peace, Land and Bread." The circumstantial pressure had been removed. Behind the scenes in every city and town in Russia ruled the councils of soldiers, workers and peasants. Whatever this group really wanted they got. To cite but one instance, in Turkestan the military governor, General Kuropatkin, a former Commander-in-Chief of all the Russian armies, was arrested and sent to Petrograd.

The Bolshevik Government.—In view of all this, it was only natural that the small and active protocracy of Bolsheviks, who did to some extent understand the thoughts and desires of the people, should seize control. As Sir George Buchanan, the English Ambassador, said, "They had won over the majority of the soldiers, the workingmen and the peasants," and were firmly in the saddle. That they had the masses behind them is now admitted by Kerensky when he says, "The Bolsheviks gained a majority in the Petrograd Soviet on the 7th of September. The same happened everywhere with lightning rapidity."

But while the Bolsheviks were far nearer the real desires of the masses in the slogan "Peace, Land and Bread," they were not nearer to them in theory. Their theory was a derivative from the Marxian and totally foreign to the masses, a fact of which the Bolsheviks were well aware. Says Lenin in a pamphlet for party members only, "The advance guard of the Proletariat of the Communistic Party manipulates the non-party mass of the workers, educates them, prepares them, train them in the school of Communism (first the workers, then the peasants) in order that they may some time take over into their own hands the conduct of all their affairs."

Lenin did not believe in waiting until the peasants and workers had become familiar with his ideas; he started immediately to apply the theories he had been preaching all his life. The banks were seized and nationalized. The factories were turned over to the workers, and the peasants were urged to expropriate the land. Lenin took immediate steps to stop the war, which was unpopular. It is only fair to say, however, that when Germany insisted on an outrageous and shameful peace treaty, he considered renewing the fight. Indeed, he made a definite offer to Raymond Robins to oppose ratification of the treaty, provided England and America would pledge Russia their support. No answer was ever received from the Allied governments to this offer and the peace was consummated. All power had been given to the soviets as soon as the Bolsheviks had taken the power. These councils were based on a combination of geographical representation in the villages and an industrial representation in the cities and towns. They were largely controlled by Communists. It was inevitable that they should themselves gradually apply the same methods that the Tsar had used in his machine of governmental pressure. Thus the Bolsheviks adopted censorship of the press and built up a very effective secret service organization along the lines of the Tsar's spy system. It was called the All-Russian Extraordinary Commission for Fighting Counter-Revolution, Speculation and Sabotage. In the course of two years' work, according to its own record, it suppressed three hundred and forty-four revolts and shot over eight thousand people.

The measures which the Bolsheviks enacted broke down the iron-clad compartments which had separated the ruling classes from the masses. In the first place, each racial group in the population was given the right to form a separate state. All of these were then federated into the Soviet Republic. The propertied classes were for a time disfranchisd and made propertyless, and the result was that they soon found themselves working side by side with peasants and workers. It was only a matter of months before the majority began to have a dim understanding of the feelings of the peasant classes. To-day scores of them testify that they never understood what it was to be a peasant and go hungry until they themselves had felt the pangs of hunger. Although the Bolshevik polices definitely antagonized a large number of the seven per cent and forced them into open counter-revolution or onto foreign soil, it did make many of the intellectuals mingle with the peasants and so grow more likeminded to them. This in itself acted as a strong force toward breaking down the barriers that had formerly existed between the two classes.

In those things which did not depend on the Marxian theory, such as education and child welfare, the Bolsheviks were able to act. According to the May, 1921, report of the Russian Unions, they alone had established over ten thousand new schools in Russia. This is in addition to the number started for the rest of the population by the Department of Education. Hundreds of children's homes have also been initiated. When it came to the matter of text books, pencils, ink and equipment generally, these depended somewhat on Bolshevik theories and here it is that we find scarcity and need.

As has always happened in any government in which socialists have attempted to apply their theories quickly and in large doses, production falls off and mere existence becomes most difficult for the common people.

In Russia, which had been bled white by a four year's war, conditions went from bad to worse as civil war and intervention continued. The peasants were tired of war and revolution. They cared not who was in power, provided they could have their land, till the soil, and secure the goods they needed in exchange for their crops. By a combination of causes, the civil war, intervention, the blockade, and false economic theories, food was made more and more scarce until the Bolsheviks could not furnish a sufficient amount for their own departments. The supply of clothes, medicines, soap, agricultural implements and railroad equipment dwindled. Lenin's mind, warped by the experience of a Tsar's environment, was going through a trial-and-error process in which he was learning, as were all his followers. It is the same story, true the world over. Let any socialist who has been fighting in opposition all his life suddenly be given power. If he holds his position long enough, he will be acting quite differently from his course at the start. There have been many instances of this in the United States, when a man such as Lunn has been elected to office on the Socialist platform and has ended by becoming a party Democrat.

Ever since the Bolsheviks took control, step by step they have been abandoning their earliest positions. First, Lenin advocated a uniform wage rate for all. Today he is paying the workers according to an output test. He began by urging the confiscation of all factories and their management by the workers. Today they are being run under the direction of experts appointed by a Supreme Council of National Economy, and Lenin is bargaining with the capitalists of Europe to come in and run his industries.

Lenin entered upon his power by nationalizing the land and compelling the peasants to yield all their products to the state. This was unpopular. Today there is practically private ownership in land, subject to redivision by the villages, and the peasants can sell their products after they have paid a tax to the government. Lenin has definitely used the incentive of private property to induce increased production. A cooperative brotherhood of individuals working without the spirit of monetary gain for the benefit of all, still remains a dream in Russia. In nearly all cases where the Communist management has been tried on large farms it has proved a failure.[3]

At the beginning, Lenin talked of doing away with money entirely and substituting work checks which would be good only to those who had actually done work, and which would be void after a certain period. Today he is introducing a silver-secured currency.

In the winter of 1922 almost everything in Russia was free to the people. Privileges were given merely on an order written by the proper authority. Street cars, electric light, train travel, bread and food of every description, all were given out by the government. To-day the system has broken down. The Bolsheviks are now charging 300 roubles per kilometer on the railroad and all those who are not state employees must feed themselves.

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[3] By 1930 some of these farms have proved successful.

Lenin began by confiscating bank accounts above a very meagre amount, and all valuables in safety deposit vaults. Today unlimited deposits are again permissible.

In all these respects we have logical reactions from the stimuli of an autocratic Tsar's régime. Once the authority of the circumstantial pressure of the Tsar's despotic system had broken down, it was almost inevitable that the extreme elements within the revolutionary party should secure control. The extent to which it is true that those in power have been the ones who were warped by a harsh experience under the Tsar can be seen by the Bolsheviks' own statements. There are only two of the eighteen People's Commissioners who have not served a jail sentence under the Tsar's régime for a political offense, and several of them have been sentenced as many as seven times. In the Moscow Soviet, which wields more influence than any other in Russia, in February, 1920, out of 1532 representatives, 23.9 per cent had been tried for political activity, 87 as many as three times each; 19.2 per cent had been imprisoned; 7 per cent had been deported; and 1 per cent had been sent with the criminal work crews to Siberia. These men were the products of Tsaristic aggression, and as they came to put their theories to the test, soon saw the need for modification. It was apparent that they could not long remain in power unless they could secure sufficient production to meet the needs of the people. Just as all human effort has been guided by trial and error, so the Bolsheviks were bound to try out their theories, then, learning by the results of the reaction, to change their methods.

Relations with the Allies.—Ever since the Allies awoke to find the dreaded products of the Tsar's régime, Lenin and Trotsky, in power, they have been trying to explain the phenomenon. Not understanding all the social forces that had produced this coup on the part of the Bolsheviks, Allied representatives attempted to account for it by the "German Agent" theory. As was to be expected of two groups so totally dissimilar to each other as Russia and the rest of Europe, war and blockade followed. What was this but a consequence of unlike groups reacting toward each other? This is clearly seen in the attitude of the Bolsheviks in their press, toward the so-called capitalistic countries, and in the attitude of our press toward the Bolshevik system. Each not only points out every discernible weakness but violently denounces the other in terms which are far more derogatory than accurate. Granted that the Bolshevik theories are impracticable, the statements of our press have been confused, misleading and often false. From November, 1917, on, the press of the world has been flooded with a mass of conflicting stories of fact and fiction about the theories held by the Bolsheviks and the conditions created by them. Society always centers its attention on the spectacular phenomena which every one recognizes as unusual, instead of attempting to understand what produced them. The Bolsheviks have been treated to a mass of denunciation and hatred, giving them more free advertising in a shorter time than has been enjoyed by any other group seizing power of which we have record. In reality the Bolsheviks are as much the victims of their social environment and the social factors at work in the Tsar's Empire as is a chemical compound the result of the elements of which it is composed. The fact that we have been shocked by some of the real or alleged crimes attributed to the Bolsheviks, does not change the underlying sociological causes which produced them. What scientist would dare assert that had he been one of a group whose liberties and initiative were impinged on, curbed and suppressed by the social heritage of a Tsar's tyranny, he himself might not now be in the Bolshevik ranks? Instead of centering our attention and denunciations on the Bolsheviks themselves, we should rather have tried to understand what produced them.

One sociological lesson which the Bolshevik revolution teaches is that wherever ninety or more per cent of the people are separated from the governing and ruling classes by walls of social custom, training, economic privilege and life experience, there is a probability of social explosion. In the United States we already see the faint beginnings of such a situation. In our great business processes, the iron and steel industry, for example, we have over one hundred thousand workers, cut off from their masters, the steel magnates. Such a keen student of labor as Whiting Williams, after first-hand study, concludes that the ignorance of both the worker and the employer about each other is astounding. "To each the other stands as the X in the equation of the factory organization." Fortunately there are those in America who have already sensed the danger. Another lesson for us in our relationship with Russia should be not less apparent. If we isolate her, blockade her and refuse to have anything to do with her people, there will be mutual and growing misunderstanding. On the other hand, if we encourage the exchange of goods, send in our technical experts, provide food relief and educational help, we shall break down suspicion and misinformation and help to make the American and Russian people more tolerant of each other and consequently a little more likeminded.

The Future.—It is impossible to predict the future course of the Russian Revolution because it rests on a number of variables. How far the Bolsheviks will progress will depend to some extent on how actively they push education, insure justice, and permit the play of individual initiative. Will they, for instance, allow the wills of individuals and minorities who differ from them to function constructively? Their attitude in a period of civil war and foreign intervention is hardly a fair test. America's own experience with free speech during the war was not in accord with our democratic tradition.

Certain definite things about the Russian revolution, however, are predictable. In the first place, the Bolsheviks cannot permanently remain in power if they build up a wall between themselves and the mass of the people. To some extent they have done this already. If the Communist Party becomes in its turn separated from the peasants and unresponsive to them, it can only remain in power by means of an adequate machine of governmental pressure. If, however, the Bolsheviks are willing to change their theories to meet the demands of the population and the needs of the situation, they may retain the government for a period of years. The bulk of the population has so long been forced to submit to the strong pressure of a Tsar's autocracy that they are far more docile than almost any other race in Europe. The stability and power of their government have already demonstrated that the Bolsheviks can easily build up and maintain a strong circumstantial pressure against revolution. If, in addition, the Bolsheviks can keep open the lines of intercommunication, interstimulation and response between the Communist Party and the masses of the people, regardless of whether they rule in a more or less autocratic and dictatorial fashion, they may have a chance to remain in power, for in that case the majority of the people would not be so far removed but that each could mutually understand the other. There will be a certain amount of likemindedness existing between the rulers and the ruled. If this be true, it may be that the future in Russia for a long time to come will be one of slow evolution rather than dangerous and damaging revolution.

3. HISTORY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY[4]

Before considering the structure of the party, it is essential to understand the main events in the party history. Socialistic ideas coming from foreign countries to Russia in the sixties first began to spread among the students. Since at that time there were few factories, the early Russian socialists who were called "Narodniki" or Populists, practically neglected the laboring men and thought they could usher in Socialism through the peasants. They soon discovered the abysmal ignorance of the peasants, who cared nothing for socialism and were interested solely in securing new land. Communism may be said to have been born in the scattered organizations which began to spring up among the working class in the early seventies.

In Odessa toward the end of 1872 a small group of fifteen metal workers formed what was probably the first crude beginnings of a soviet of workers. They began by merely reading aloud at their meetings from some socialistic book, but soon organized revolutionary libraries to help spread ideas among a wider circle. In 1874 they had started a mutual aid fund and had ten separate circles. In 1875 they joined together in one organization under the name of the Southern-Russian Society of Workers. Of the nearly two hundred members only two were intellectuals. In December of the same year the society was broken up by the Tsar's police. The chairman was sentenced to ten years of hard labor while the others received shorter terms.

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[4] Reprinted from a chapter by Jerome Davis in *Soviet Russia in the Second Decade*.

Soon after this, a North Russian Society was formed in St. Petersburg, but it and its leaders met the same fate.

In 1879 the intellectuals comprising the Party of the People decided to assassinate Alexander II and in 1881 succeeded in their purpose.

In the nineties the Social Democrats organized a "Society for Freeing the Working Class" in St. Petersburg. In 1895 Lenin wrote his pamphlet "What is it to be a friend of the People?" stating that the workers themselves must overthrow Tsarism through a Communistic revolution. He opposed the legal Marxists who declared that such a revolution could be achieved by legal means, declaring that it could only come through revolution. In 1895 Lenin was at the head of one of the regional committees of the St. Petersburg society. By 1893 there were substantial organizations in St. Petersburg, Moscow, Kiev, and Ekaterinoslav, besides a large Jewish society named Bunt." All of these came together in that year in their first conference to form the Russsian Social-Democratic Workers' Party. It can thus be seen that the short space of fifty years has seen the entire birth and development of the organization which now controls one-sixth of the earth's surface, and that the active work of the party has not lasted more than twenty-five years. The first number of the party paper, *The Spark,* was not issued until the end of 1900. The famous second conference of the party, which met first in Brussels in 1903 and then in London, resulted in the adoption of a resolution prepared by Lenin calling for uncomprising class warfare against the bourgeoisie and a union of the workers with the peasants. Since there had been a very serious debate over the entire matter, the winning faction of Lenin was nicknamed "majority" or "Bolshevik," a term which has remained ever since. Those who opposed these resolutions were nicknamed "Menshevik" or "minority," and at the third party conference, in 1905, they broke completely with the rest forming the so-called Menshevik Party.

By the time of the 1905 Revolution, the party was so strong that it had branches in most of the larger cities. Soviets or councils of workers were formed in over thirty of them. In St. Petersburg, the Soviet had 562 delegates from 281 factories and 16 trade unions. Trotsky was at this time vice-chairman of the Soviet and on the arrest of the chairman he was elected to fill the vacancy. In December the Tsar began his repressive measures and the party was forced into underground activity until the Revolution of 1917.

During the World War Lenin kept reiterating that this was an imperialistic conflict and as early as 1916 published a book entitled "Imperialism as the latest stage of Capitalism." He believed it was impossible for capitalism to function without wars and that each conflict gave an opportunity for a civil war and revolution.

The Bolshevik Party adopted an absolute declaration against the world conflict, considering it simply an economic struggle between capitalistic nations. As soon as possible after the revolution in Russia, Lenin returned from abroad, and early in the fall of 1917 the Bolsheviks had a majority in the Soviets of Petrograd and Moscow. The party seized power on the 7th of November 1917, the day before the convention of the second conference of the soviets. From this time on, the history of the party is well known. It has had several epoch making struggles, first with Germany in 1918, and then with the Allied nations. Following the collapse of foreign military intervention, there followed a blockade and sanitary cordon. This, in its turn, culminated in the famine of 1921-22.

Since then the Bolsheviks have been trying to rebuild the shattered industrial life of the country. In spite of these colossal difficulties it is apparent that the party has had a steady growth and now embraces a larger membership than ever before in its history. It must not be forgotten that at the present time there are in addition to regular party members almost three million others belonging to the *Komsomol,* or Communist Union of Youth.

II. LEADERSHIP

A study of one hundred and sixty-three outstanding Communist leaders made from the autobiographical sketches in the three volumes of the Russian Encyclopedia Granat leads to the following summary.[5]

The overwhelming bulk of these leaders were Russian of the male sex born for the most part in cities of over ten thousand or at least having access to educational facilities of high school rank or over. Sixty per cent were born of fathers who did not belong either to the workers or peasant classes. Over three-fourths of them began radical action by the time they were twenty-one. Over sixty per cent had taken work in the university and only twenty-two per cent had not finished high school or its equivalent. Apparently education is just as valuable for revolutionary leadership as for any other. On an average they were arrested 3.3 times each. No sooner were they freed from one prison sentence than they resumed revolutionary activity. Prisons acted as receptacles for confinement but stimulated radical rather than conservative attitudes. In the recorded

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[5] See paper by Jerome Davis, "A Study of One Hundred and Sixty-three Outstanding Communist Leaders" in The Publication of the American Sociological Society, Vol. XXIV, No. 2 (May, 1930), pp. 42-55.

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stimuli which were responsible for making them revolutionists, the influence of teachers, fellow students and workers were most important, with books and periodicals ranking second and the influence of the family third. It is the hypothesis of the writer as a result of reading all these biographies that one factor in this leadership was that nearly all acted on their revolutionary ideation at an early age. This action to the extent that it seemed successful to the individual involved itself created a drive for further action in the same direction.

In this volume due to limitation of space we can give but two biographical sketches of Russian leaders and they have been selected by the march of events.

It is impossible to leave out the master of the Russian Revolution, Lenin, or the present dictator, Stalin. It is interesting to speculate what their lives would have been like had they been born in America.

I. LENIN

Vladimir Ilich Ulianoff was born on the 23rd of April, 1871, in the city of Simbirsk. "Lenin" was the revolutionary pseudonym which he later took to avoid apprehension by the Tsar's police. His father, who came of peasant stock, was director of the Peoples' School. Lenin had two brothers, Alexander and Dimitri, and three sisters, Anne, Mary, and Olga. The father was a very devoted servant of the people and established in the neighborhood of 400 schools with twenty thousand pupils. When Lenin was seventeen years of age his brother was hanged for participation in a plot against the Czar, Alexander III. This made a profound impression on Lenin. Indications are that the family was not entirely satisfied with conditions under the Czar's régime. The mother was interested in young Vladimir. She tried to help Lenin in his studies and opposed his smoking for health reasons. Lenin was not much influenced by the health argument, but abandoned the practice on the argument that he could not afford to waste the money while so many others needed funds for education.

On the completion of the high school course Lenin was first in every subject including religion and was awarded the gold medal. Kerensky's father who was head of the high school said at the time of his graduation: "Ulianoff (Lenin) was the most talented. He was always earnest and accurate; in all his classes he was first, and at the end of his high school (gymnasium) course he was awarded the gold medal as the most broadminded, able, and most likely to succeed. Neither inside or outside the high school was there a single reported case where Ulianoff either in word or deed did anything to impair the high opinion of him held by his instructors."

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When he was seventeen he entered the University. He was promptly excluded when he took part in a student organization. He applied a year later for permission to reënter but this was denied. The family asked if he could go abroad to study, but this also was denied. Thereupon Lenin studied law by himself and successfully passed the bar examination in 1892. In 1893 he went to St. Petersburg where with other Marxists he organized a workers' circle. These circles met with great success but the suspicions of the police were finally aroused. In 1895 the circles joined in "The Union for the Struggle for the Emancipation of Labor." The society distributed a great number of leaflets of which Lenin was the author of the greatest number. The police searched the society's rooms and arrested the leaders, among whom was Lenin. While in jail Lenin commenced the pamphlet on "The Growth of Capitalism in Russia." In 1897 he was sent to Siberia where he finished this work. He was freed from exile in 1900, but because of the activity of the police was forced to live abroad. He there began to edit a newspaper "The Spark," which was shipped illegally into Russia.

Within the editorial staff of the "The Spark" there was disagreement following the second congress of the party in 1903. At this time Lenin stood uncompromisingly against any union with Liberals. He believed that in trying to seize the power the party should be free from entanglements which might cause it to be less outspoken. Lenin's faction secured a majority in this congress and was therefore nicknamed "Bolshevik" or majority, while the minority was called Menshevik. On the editorial board of the Spark, however, the Mensheviks were in a majority and Lenin was excluded. He thereupon started a Bolshevik paper "Forward" in 1904, in which he continued the fight with the Mensheviks on the question of their relationship with the Liberals and over the agricultural question. Lenin believed there should be an appeal made to the peasants in Russia, and that they should be allowed to seize the land without compensation. At the third congress of the party Lenin discussed the question of armed uprising and of a temporary revolutionary government. In 1905, he returned to St. Petersburg where he worked with the soviet of workers deputies. He was finally forced to work from Finland, and at the time of the reaction he left the country. During this period he had worked out a theory for the eventual seizure of power in the next revolutionary crisis. He advocated that the Communists should first win the support of the peasantry and thus sweep away all vestiges of Tsarism and landlordism. After this had been accomplished it would be possible to turn to the semi-proletariat for support and overthrow the bourgeoisie even among the peasantry and thus establish Communism.

ЗИНОВИЕВ КАМЕНЕФФ

He lived for a time in Switzerland, and afterwards in Paris where he edited newspapers, "The Proletariat" and "Social Democracy." During this period he also finished his book on "Materialism and Imperialism." In 1912, he worked from Galicia and directed the faction of the party in the Duma, and also assisted in the publication of the legal Bolshevik paper "Truth."

At the beginning of the World War Lenin was arrested in Galicia but managed to secure his release to go to Switzerland. There he carried on an active campaign against the war, maintaining that it was an imperialistic conflict. He took part in the Zimmerwald conference in Switzerland in 1915, standing at the head of the Left group there. As soon as the revolution in Russia began Lenin returned through Germany. He reached Petrograd on the 16th of April, 1917. He was everywhere at the workers party conferences speaking strongly in favor of immediate and active steps for peace, confiscation of factories, and confiscation of the land by the peasants. He also soon urged a dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of a council of worker and peasant deputies. In this he met bitter opposition on the part of the Social Revolutionaries. Little by little Lenin succeeded in winning the working masses to his side. After the July demonstration in Petrograd, the arrest of Lenin was ordered, and he was forced to hide in disguise in Finland, from which point he directed the campaign of the Bolsheviks. Lenin immediately began to draw up very careful plans for an armed uprising. There was a good deal of opposition even in his own party, Zinoviev and Kameneff counciling delay. Nevertheless, Lenin was able to win the majority of the Central Committee. On the Seventh of November he seized the power. The All Russian Congress of Soviets was called on the same day, and on a proposal from Lenin accepted the decree of peace, and the immediate transfer of the land to the working masses without compensation. Lenin was immediately chosen Chairman of the Council of Peoples Commissars of the first Revolutionary Government of the Workers and Peasants. The plans for a constitutional assembly were carried through, but when the majority of those elected opposed the Bolshevik party it was disbanded. Lenin found it more useful to stand on the platform of "All Power to the Soviets." For a time the communists tried the experiment, against Lenin's judgment of refusing to continue the war and at the same time refusing to sign a peace with Germany, but crushing defeat convinced all that Lenin was right and resulted in the Brest-Litovsk treaty, which Lenin called "A breathing spell." During this peace, plans were rushed through for the formation af a Red Army. On the 30th of August 1918, one of the Social Revolu-

БРЕСТ-ЛИТОВСК

ИОСИФ ВИССАРИОНОВИЧ СТАЛИН

(ДЗХУГАСХВИЛИ)

tionists, Kaplan, shot Lenin in Moscow. Lenin made a winning fight against death, although his life hung in the balance for days.

Under Lenin's direction Trotsky with the aid of other Communist chiefs organized the red armies which were to defeat the White Guards aided by Allied troops. On the 1st of March, 1919, Lenin called on the representatives of the various communists parties of the different countries to organize an international association of Communists, The Communist International.

After defeating the White armies of counter-revolution Lenin was the first to see the necessity of retreating on the economic front. At the tenth conference he proposed the New Economic Policy, urging that this was particularly necessary in order that there might be a union between the working classes and the peasants. He laid stress on the necessity for the electrification of Russia, the building up of coöperatives, and the improving of the state appartus.

The terrific strain which Lenin had undergone in these years took effect in 1922 with a paralysis of the organs of speech and half his body. He was able to recover from this stroke, however, and did not die until the 21st of January, 1924.

Following his death he was almost worshiped as the god of the Russian Revolution. His body was transferred to a special mausoleum in Moscow and is daily shown to thousands of tourists from all over Russia. The works of Lenin are regarded in somewhat the same light by devout Communists as the Bible among Christians, though this does not prevent all sides from trying to claim that Lenin was really endorsing their position.

2. YOSIF VISSARIONOVICH STALIN (DZHUGASHVILI)

There is perhaps no world figure so little known in the United States as Stalin, the present ruler of Russia. To-day he is the most powerful personality in Communism. His life story rivals the most dangerous and fascinating detective romance. Born in 1879, he has crowded into his life more fighting action than any other serving ruler in the world. As a political revolutionist under the Tsar's régime he was arrested six times, escaped five, and spent seven years in jail or exile. Few newspaper correspondents have ever seen him. The writer was privileged to interview him twice—in 1926 for over two hours, and in 1927, with an American Labor Delegation, for four hours—and has also delved at first hand into his past history, talking with his mother and with old revolutionary comrades who knew and worked with him for years. His mother is a woman of unusual power. She said that her husband had been a Georgian of

Іосиф Виссарионович Сталин
(Дзхугасхвили)

peasant origin who worked in a shoe factory. The family name was Dzhugashvili. They had four children, but three died in infancy. Stalin, who was the youngest, was therefore in effect an only child. He was not physically strong. The family was not prosperous, the food was poor, and he was often sick. At seven he had small-pox, which left his face pitted. In spite of all this he was first in his studies, and his mother proudly declared that he was ahead of all the boys in everything. His mother was a devout Christian and had literally prayed her son into theological seminary, hoping he would serve her country as a priest.

Nothing interested the youth quite so much as ideas and reading. His father did not care for politics, but even as a youngster the son managed to join a secret political circle. When he was ten his father died. The family was left pennilness, but the mother, often sitting up until two or three at night, sewing, earned the necessary livelihood, and set aside every penny that could be saved for the religious education of the boy.

After finishing the local religious high school at fourteen, Stalin was sent to the theological seminary at the capital in Tiflis. At that time the institution was a hotbed of revolutionary doctrine, both nationalist and Marxist, and Stalin soon became the leader of the Marxist circle. In touch with the illegal Social Democratic organizations of the city, he distributed revolutionary literature and attended secret meetings of the railroad workers. In 1898 the authorities searched his room, found a copy of Marx, and promptly expelled him. It was a great blow to his mother, although she had feared it; for, although Stalin never talked politics at home, she had seen him hiding illegal journals. Still she did not dream that he was really against the Czar, and it was not until his arrest in Baku that comrades explained all to her. Finally, in 1905, after her son had repeatedly been arrested and her prayers had remained unanswered, she lost her faith in God, dimly realizing then that the priests were supporting the Czar and betraying the people.

Stalin told me that as a result of his expulsion from the seminary as a boy of nineteen he had firmly resolved to devote the rest of his life to the overthrow of the Czar's régime, and after examining all the different political parties had decided to join the Social Democrats.

The older revolutionists in Tiflis had been content with secret propaganda. Now came Stalin to champion the young, restless radicals who wanted to plunge into mass demonstrations and parades, as well as to distribute to the masses illegal leaflets on popular contemporary issues; and Stalin won over the majority. In 1900-1902 he engineered mass strikes in Tiflis, and on the first of May a great political demonstration. Immediately the party headquarters and his own apartment were raided. Stalin began to live under assumed names and to move every few days. He successively became known as David, Koba, Nisheradze, Cheshekoff, Ivanovitch; but the name which finally stuck was Stalin, or "Steel," not inappropriate in view of his present position.

Stalin next became a professional paid agitator for the party, and was transferred to Baku. He organized successful strikes in two of the oil plants, and a grand political demonstration in February, 1902. In March he was arrested and imprisoned until the end of the next year, when he was exiled to Eastern Siberia. Within a month he had escaped and returned to Tiflis.

While in jail in Baku, Stalin had learned of the fight between Lenin, representing the Bolsheviki (Majority), and the Mensheviki (Minority) of the party, and had become a strong supporter of Lenin and the policy of direct action. After his escape he organized the party all over the Caucasus in support of Lenin. He edited illegal Bolshevist papers, such as "The Proletariat Struggle" and "The Baku Workman," and wrote many pamphlets, such as "A Summary of the Party Split, Anarchism and Socialism," and so forth. In 1905 he attended the party conference in Finland, and in 1906 began to edit a weekly, *Time*. The same year he attended the Stockholm congress and another in London. On his return from London, he once more organized the workers of Baku.

It is rumored that in 1907, when the party funds were at a low ebb, he organized a successful street attack on those who were transporting money from the Tiflis branch of the State Bank. Whether or not this is malicious gossip, such a robbery did occur and the money disappeared. If the account of the part played by Stalin is true, Communists would justify it on the ground that the money was originally stolen from the people by the oppressive taxation of the Czar's oligarchy, and that in utilizing it to organize the revolution Stalin was acting in the genuine interests of the people.

His former associates say that there was no one quite so effective as Stalin in interesting the workers and making them see the injustice of their condition. Illegal meetings were organized in the evenings, to which the workers were invited, and Stalin would talk. He was particularly effective in arranging strikes. Many a time at a secret meeting one of the older workers would express doubts as to the advisability of such a dangerous course, but his argument would be swept aside by the clear, insistent plea of Stalin. Constructively, Stalin managed to conclude effective agreements with the oil magnates, improving working conditions, and this enormously increased his prestige with the workers.

In 1908 he was arrested a second time, being implicated in the work of the Baku committee, and after some time in the local prison was again exiled, this time to Irkutsk. His wife, whom he had married in 1905, did not survive the rigors of exile. One boy, the survivor of this union, is now studying at Moscow.

In 1909 Stalin against managed to escape and again returned to Baku. He plunged at once into the work of organizing every single oil plant in the city. He was so daring that he would talk with the workers regardless of who was in the room. It was, therefore, almost inevitable that inside of a year he faced prison and a six-year exile. But again in less than twelve months he had escaped and made his way in disguise to St. Petersburg. Barely six months later he was arrested while at work for the Central Committee of the party, but the Czar's police did not know him, and he was exiled for only three years, managing to escape in 1911.

Stalin at this time was either exceptionally clever or exceptionally lucky, for the Czar's police always accused him of relatively minor crimes: of being the organizer of some street parade, the editor of some illegal publication, the leader of a strike, and so forth. Consequently, while he was always in trouble, his sentences were relatively light. In April, 1912, he was again arrested and exiled. In September of the same year he escaped across the border into Cracow, in Austria, and was able to take part in the conference of the party with Lenin, when he was elected a member of the Central Committee.

Some Russian revolutionists of this period spent considerable time abroad studying in comparative security. Not so Stalin. He was always at the most dangerous front, giving himself unsparingly to the illegal work of his party. In 1913 he took part in the elective campaign for the fourth Duma (congress) and became leader of the Bolshevist faction. At that time he was also one of the editors of the illegal Bolshevist papers, "The Star" and "The Truth." In February, 1913, he was arrested for the sixth time and exiled under a heavy guard. This time he did not escape and was freed only by the February revolution.

In the Bolshevist Revolution Stalin was one of the committee of five who managed the uprising, working shoulder to shoulder with Lenin and strongly favoring the seizure of power, in opposition to Zinoviev and Kamenev, who cautioned delay. From 1917 to 1923 he was People's Commissar of Nationalities, the man who initiated the successful policy of giving cultural autonomy and local freedom to the nationalities within the Union. Besides this, from 1919 to 1920, he was People's Commissar for Workers and Peasants Inspection, and from 1920 to 1923, a member of the Revolutionary War Council of the Republic.

The intervention in Russian affairs of England, France, Japan and the United States threw him into the civil war. He was sent from one front to another, serving against Udenitch, Denikin and the Poles, and, for his heroism he was decorated with the highest Soviet order of the Red Sign.

It is always the custom for the Red Army soldiers to greet a commander with a cheer. On the front near Petrograd one December, Stalin noted that the soldiers did not greet him with enthusiasm. Halting one whose tightly compressed lips indicated complete silence, Stalin asked, "Why?" The man pointed to his own feet, clad only in straw sandals. Stalin immediately took off his own fine leather boots, gave them to the soldier, and took in return the straw sandals, which he wore all winter, sharing the deprivation with his men.

One of his comrades, Sturo, told me his adventures during the direst days of the civil war, when it was a race between starvation and defeat at the Allies' hands. Stalin was food dictator. Said Sturo:

> "I was commissioned to secure food for Baku. At that time Baku had a population of 200,000, with 75,000 workers. Grain was collected at the mouth of the river Volga to be distributed all over Russia. I carried my own armed force. After months of desperate work we had 300,000 poods of wheat. Then I had to get boats to ship it to Baku. All was arranged and I was happy, when officers of Stalin appeared and confiscated it. In vain I showed my order from the Communists. Stalin's men said, 'It makes no difference what orders you have. If we do not get grain and go back to Stalin with empty hands we shall be shot.' These men had a larger fighting force, and I realized that it would either mean a terrible fight or else surrender. Baku was starving. I decided to appeal personally to Stalin.
>
> "At that time Stalin was virtually a dictator in the matter of securing grain. He almost never received anyone in his room except his lieutenants. He was like a lion in his cage, always pacing up and down. In spite of everything, I managed to get to him and plead for Baku. Stalin brushed the plea aside with the statement, 'What nonsense you are talking. If we lose Baku, it is nothing. We will take it again inside of a few months or a year at the most. If we lose Moscow, we lose everything. Then the revolution is ended.' The grain went to Stalin and Moscow."

Perhaps the most striking military achievement of Stalin was his defense of the town of Tsaritsin, on the lower Volga, against the attacks of the anti-Bolshevist forces. The city has since been rechristened Stalingrad in his honor.

For a time Stalin worked as secretary to Lenin, then later he became General Secretary of the Communist Party. Previously this position had never been considered of central strategic importance, being rather a routine job, consisting of such formal and technical duties as preparing circular letters for the party organizations and outlining programs passed by the Central Committee. Stalin now made it the direct nerve center of the party. It gave him the chance to send out political workers throughout Russia, and to learn from the inside the methods of political organization. His previous heroic work made every one recognize his authority. He had a prestige with loyal party men which a former Menshevik such as Trotsky could never have. Able men crowded to work under him, so that he was able to build up a powerful political machine. Those who opposed him and the Majority were sent to remote districts; his supporters were rewarded with still more important positions. It must be said also that he worked with amazing skill, and never opposed an important man except on an issue which commanded the warm support of the rest.

It was in this way that he broke with Trotsky when the latter was being damned by all Communist leaders, including Zinoviev and Kamenev. In spite of the break, Stalin favored retaining Trotsky on the powerful Political Bureau against the demands of Zinoviev and others for expulsion. Later, after Trotsky was thoroughly disgraced, Zinoviev tried to oppose Stalin, but Stalin was able to marshal the others against Zinoviev. All those hostile to Stalin finally combined in a solid bloc known as "The Opposition." Due to the fact that this opposition was divided on its program, Stalin was able to defeat them overwhelmingly, and in January, 1928, to exile them to remote parts of Russia. As a result, Zinoviev and Kamenev recanted, and asked to be taken back into the party.

Stalin to-day is a man of medium height, erect, well built, with a heavy black mustache, thick hair, dark penetrating eyes and a handsome face. His speech is characteristic of the man, blunt and direct; he does not attempt to hide his meaning. On the other hand, as with so many key politicians, he does not place himself in the spotlight, although in 1930 he has assumed public leadership as never before. Stalin, unlike Trotsky, never acted as if the revolution were the opportunity for him to parade his genius. He is not an inspired orator or a brilliant writer, but is a man of iron will, extraordinary energy and an utter lack of fear. There is little question that he is extraordinary skilful and adroit in party politics. As he himself admits, he is rough and harsh in dealing with those whom he beleves to be enemies of the revolution. But he rules, partly at least, because he keeps to the middle of the road of Communist tactics. He does not venture forth on a new revolutionary policy until it has been discussed and rediscussed in the party conclaves, and has become the will of the overwhelming majority.

It would be easy to magnify the rôle which Stalin is now playing. He is easily the most important man in Russia to-day, but the entire theory of Communist tactics is that the individual is nothing, the party is everything. Stalin rules because he has his ear close to the ground and knows what the rank and file of the party want. He has an extraordinary knack of keeping in touch with the changing moods of the common people, especially of the peasants. We have already mentioned the fact that long before he took the reins of power he inaugurated the policy of cultural autonomy for subject nationalities. This is going even further than the United States has done. In the Philippines we have ruled that the schools shall be carried on in English. Stalin insisted that, in contradiction to the policy of the Czar, every subject group could study in their own dialect or language and could have full power to print books and newspapers in their own tongue. In 1924 Stalin insited on democracy in the villages. He sensed the desire of the peasants for more economic liberty, and was instrumental in passing a law, against party opposition, giving the peasant greater freedom in hiring help. Again, he has consistently opposed going to the extremes urged by Trotsky against the wealthy and middle class peasant. Trotsky would have taxed or persecuted them out of existence. Stalin said: "Let us use them as far as we can to aid the revolution."

It seems clear that in Stalin the Communist Party has only been practicing "the survival of the fittest." Trotsky was perhaps more brilliant, but he was unreliable. He had a tendency "to fly off the handle." Moreover, Trotsky had been ill for a good share of the time since Lenin died, whereas Stalin has been physically always able to stay at the helm. This has inevitably affected their relative success.

Although Stalin has often been called a dictator, he is a dictator only of the American variety, a political boss who rules because he knows how to work with others. He could be displaced at a moment's notice by the Central Committee of the party. As one of its members told me, however, "Whom could we elect to his place? Of course he has his faults." Lenin said in his *Last Testament:*

> "Comrade Stalin, having become General Secretary, has concentrated an enormous power in his hands; and I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution. On the other hand, Comrade Trotsky . . . is distinguished by his exceptional abilities—personally he is, to be sure, the most able man in the present Central Committee—but also by his too far-

reaching self-confidence and a disposition to be too much attracted by the purely administrative side of affairs.

"These two qualities of the two most able leaders of the present Central Committee might quite innocently, lead to a split. . . .

"Stalin is too rough, and this fault, entirely supportable in relations among us Communists, becomes insupportable in the office of General Secretary. Therefore I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that position and appoint to it another man who differs from Stalin—more patient, more loyal, more polite, and more attentive to comrades."

Another Communist said to me: "But what would be the alternative if we asked Stalin to resign? To be sure, we could put Trotsky in, but that would mean unthinkable disaster."

Stalin is a genuine believer in Communist principles; in spite of all that has been said about his conservatism, he has merely tried to harmonize practice with realities. By 1930 he has come to be recognized as the key figure in present-day Communism and it is quite possible that history will rank him, next to Lenin, the outstanding leader in the Russian Revolution.

III. THEORETICAL PROGRAM

The theory behind a great modern social movement can often best be stated in the words of its own leaders. Too often thinkers immersed in opposing environments refract the theoretical bases on which it rests. The President of Dartmouth College not long ago declared that "truth has nothing to fear from error, if truth be untrammeled at all times and if error be denied the sanctity conferred upon it by persecution or concealment." He added that if Lenin or Trotsky were available, he would "be glad to have the students hear them and to have them form their judgment as to the dangers or merits of Bolshevism on the basis of direct evidence, rather than through the inconsistent and contradictory pronouncements of anti-Bolshevist propaganda." In this section we have tried to present Communistic theory directly to the student from its own leaders, Lenin and Stalin.[6]

I. THE STATE AS THE PRODUCT OF THE IRRECONCILABILITY OF CLASS ANTAGONISMS[7]

Marx's doctrines are now undergoing the same fate, which, more than once in the course of history, has befallen the doctrines of other revolutionary thinkers and leaders of oppressed classes struggling for emancipation. During the lifetime of great revolutionaries, the oppressing classes have invariably meted out to them relentless persecution, and received their teaching with the most savage hospitality, most furious hatred, and a ruthless campaign of lies and slanders. After their death, however, attempts are usually made to turn them into harmless saints, canonizing them, as it were, and investing their name with a certain halo by way of "consolation" to the oppressed classes, and with the object of duping them; while at the same time emasculating and vulgarizing the real essence of their revolutionary theories and blunting their revolutionary edge. At the present time the bourgeoisie and the opportunists within the Labor movement are coöperating in this work of adulterating Marxism. They omit, obliterate, and distort the revolutionary side of its teaching, its revolutionary soul, and push to the foreground and extol what is, or seems, acceptable to the bourgeoisie. All the Socialist Chauvinists are now "Marxists"—save the mark! And more and more do German bourgeois professors, erstwhile specialists in the demolition of Marx, speak now of the "National-German" Marx, who, forsooth, has educated the splendidly organized working class for the present predatory war.

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[6] The student should realize that the presentation is of necessity brief and that for an exhaustive study he should turn to the complete writings of Lenin.

[7] From *The State and Revolution*, by V. I. Ulianov (N. Lenin) (Vanguard Press, New York, 1926), pp. 7-12, 17-21, 112-133.

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The distortions of Marxism arise along two main lines.

On the one hand, the middle class (bourgeois) and particularly the lower middle-class (petty bourgeois) ideologists, compelled by the pressure of indisputable historical facts to recognize that the State exists where there are class antagonisms and class struggles, "correct" Marx in such a way as to make it appear that the State is an organ for the *reconciliation* of classes. According to Marx, the State can neither arise nor maintain itself if a reconciliation of classes is possible. But with the middle class and philistine professors and publicists the State becomes a mediator and conciliator of classes. According to Marx, the State is the organ of class *domination,* the organ of oppression of one class by another. Its aim is the creation of order, which legalizes and perpetuates this oppression by moderating the collisions between the classes. But in the opinion of the lower middle-class politicians, the establishment of order is equivalent to the reconciliation of classes, and not to the oppression of one class by another. To moderate their collisions does not mean, according to them, to deprive the oppressed class of certain definite means and methods in its struggle for throwing off the yoke of the oppressors, but to conciliate it.

For instance, when, in the Revolution of 1917, the question of the real meaning and rôle of the State arose, in all its importance, as a practical question demanding immediate action of a wide mass scale, all the Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks rattled down, suddenly and without reservation, to the lower middle-class theory of the "conciliation of classes by the State." Innumerable resolutions and articles by publicists of both these parties were saturated through and through with this purely middle-class and philistine theory of conciliation. That the State is the organ of domination of a definite class which *cannot* be reconciled to its social antipodes—this the lower middle-class democracy is never able to understand.

On the other hand, the distortion of Marx by the Kautsky school is far more subtle. "Theoretically" there is no denying that the State is the organ of class domination, or that the class antagonisms are irreconciable. But what is forgotten or overlooked is this: If the State is the product of the irreconcilable character of class antagonisms, if it is a force standing above society and "separating itself gradually from it," then it is clear that the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible without a violent revolution, and without the destruction of the machinery of State power, which has been created by the governing class and in which this "separation" is embodied. . . .

In capitalist society, under the conditions most favorable to its development, we have a more or less complete democracy in the form of a democratic republic. But this democracy is always bound by the narrow framework of capitalist exploitation, and consequently always remains more or less the same as it was in the ancient Greek republics, that is, freedom for the slave owners. The modern wage-slaves, in virtue of the conditions of capitalist exploitation, remain to such an extent crushed by want and poverty that they "cannot be bothered with democracy," have "no time for politics"; that, in the ordinary peaceful course of events, the majority of the population is debarred from participating in public political life.

The accuracy of this statement is perhaps most clearly proved by Germany, just because in this State constitutional legality has lasted and remained stable for a remarkably long time—for nearly half a century (1871–1914); and the Social-Democracy during this time has been able, far better than has been the case in other countries, to make use of "legality" in order to organize into a political party a larger proportion of the working class than has occurred anywhere else in the world.

What, then, is the highest proportion of politically conscious and active wage-slaves that has so far been observed in capitalist society? One million members of the Social-Democratic Party out of fifteen millions of wage-workers! Three millions industrially organized out of fifteen millions!

Democracy for an insignificant minority, democracy for the rich—that is the democracy of capitalist society. If we look more closely into the mechanism of capitalist democracy, everywhere—in the so-called "petty" details of the suffrage, in the technique of the representative institutions, in the actual obstacles to the right of meeting (public buildings are not for the "poor"), in the purely capitalist organization of the daily press, etc., etc.—on all sides we shall see restrictions upon restrictions of democracy. These restrictions, exceptions, exclusions, obstacles for the poor, seem slight—especially in the eyes of one who has himself never known want, and has never lived in close contact with the oppressed classes in their hard life, and nine-tenths, if not ninety-one hundredths, of the bourgeois publicists and politicians are of this class! But in their sum these restrictions exclude and thrust out the poor from politics and from an active share in democracy. Marx splendidly grasped the *essence* of capitalist democracy, when, in his analysis of the experience of the Commune, he said that the oppressed are allowed, once every few years to decide which particular representatives of the oppressing class are to represent and repress them in Parliament!

But from this capitalist democracy, inevitably narrow, stealthily thrusting aside the poor, and therefore, to its core, hypocritical and treacherous—progress does not march along a simple, smooth and direct path to "greater and greater democracy," as the liberal professors and the lower middle class opportunists would have us believe. No, progressive development—that is, toward Communism—marches through the dictatorship of the proletariat; and cannot be otherwise, for there is no one else who can *break the resistance* of the exploiting capitalists, and no other way of doing it.

And the dictatorship of the proletariat—that is, the organization of the advance-guard of the oppressed as the ruling class, for the purpose of crushing oppressors—cannot produce merely an expansion of democracy. *Together* with an immense expansion of democracy—for the first time becoming democracy for the poor, democracy for the people, and not democracy for the rich folk—the dictatorship of the proletariat will produce a series of restrictions of liberty in the case of the oppressors, exploiters and capitalists. We must crush them in order to free humanity from wage-slavery; their resistance must be broken by force. It is clear that where there is suppression there must also be violence, and there cannot be liberty or democracy.

Engels expressed this splendidly in his letter to Bebel when he said, as the reader will remember, that "the proletariat needs the State, not in the interests of liberty, but for the purpose of crushing its opponents; and, when one will be able to speak of freedom, the State will have ceased to exist."

Democracy for the vast majority of the nation, and the suppression by force—that is, the exclusion from democracy—of the exploiters and oppressors of the nation; this is the modification of democracy which we shall see during the *transition* from capitalism to Communism.

Only in Communist society, when the resistance of the capitalists has finally been broken, when the capitalists have disappeared, when there are no longer any classes (that is, when there is no difference between the members of society in respect of their social means of production) *only then* "does the State disappear *and one can speak of freedom.*" Only then will be possible and will be realized a really full democracy, a democracy without any exceptions. And only then will democracy itself begin to wither away in virtue of the simple fact that, freed from capitalist slavery, from the innumerable horrors, savagery, absurdities and infamies of capitalist exploitation, people will gradually *become accustomed* to the observation of the elementary rules of social life, known for centuries, repeated for thousands of years in all sermons. They will become accustomed to their observance without force, without constraint, without subjection, without the *special apparatus* for compulsion which is called the State.

The expression "the State withers away" is very well chosen, for it indicates the gradual and elemental nature of the process. Only habit can, and undoubtedly will, have such an effect: for we see around us millions of times how readily people get accustomed to observe the necessary rules of life in common, if there is no exploitation, if there is nothing that causes indignation, that calls forth protest and revolt and has to be suppressed.

Thus, in capitalist society, we have a democracy that is curtailed, wretched, false; a democracy only for the rich, for the minority. The dictatorship of the proletariat, the period of transition to Communism, will, for the first time, produce a democracy for the people, for the majority, side by side with the necessary suppression of the minority constituted by the exploiters.

Communism alone is capable of giving a really complete democracy, and the fuller it is the more quickly will it become unnecessary and wither away of itself. In other words, under capitalism we have a State in the proper sense of the word: that is, a special instrument for the suppression of one class by another, and of the majority by the minority at that. Naturally, for the successful discharge of such a task as the systematic suppression by the minority of exploiters of the majority of exploited, the greatest ferocity and savagery of suppression is required, and seas of blood are needed, through which humanity has to direct its path, in a condition of slavery, serfdom and wage labor.

Again, during the *transition* from capitalism to Communism, suppression is *still* necessary; but in this case it is suppression of the minority of exploiters by the majority of exploited. A special instrument, a special machine for suppression—that is, the "State"—is necessary, but this is now a transitional State, no longer a State in the ordinary sense of the term. For the suppression of the minority of exploiters, by the majority of those who were *but yesterday* wage slaves, is a matter comparatively so easy, simple and natural that it will cost far less bloodshed than the suppression of the risings of the slaves, serfs or wage laborers, and will cost the human race far less. And it is compatible with the diffusion of democracy over such an overwhelming majority of the nation that the need for any *special machinery* for *suppression* will gradually cease to exist. The exploiters are unable, of course, to suppress the people without a most complex machine for performing this duty; but *the people* can suppress the exploiters even with a very simple "machine"—almost without any "machine" at all, without any special apparatus—by the simple *organization of the armed masses* (such as the Councils of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies).

Finally, only under Communism will the State become quite unnecessary, for there will be *no one* to suppress—"no one" in the sense of a *class,* in the sense of a systematic struggle with a definite section of the population. We are not utopians, and we do not in the least deny the possibility and inevitability of excesses by *individual persons,* and equally the need to suppress such excesses. But, in the first place, for this no special machine, no special instrument of repression is needed. This will be done by the armed nation itself, as simply and as readily as any crowd of civilized people, even in modern society, parts a pair of combatants or does not allow a woman to be outraged. And, secondly, we know that the fundamental social cause of excesses which violate the rules of social life is the exploitation of the masses, their want and their poverty. With the removal of this chief cause, excesses will inevitably begin to "wither away." We do not know how quickly and in what stages, but we know that they will be withering away. With their withering away, the State will also wither away. Marx, without plunging into Utopia, defined more fully what can *now* be defined regarding this future epoch: namely, the difference between the higher and lower phases (degrees, stages) of Communist society.

The First Phase of Communist Society

. . . Marx takes up a *concrete* analysis of the conditions of life of a society in which there will be no capitalism, and says: "We have to deal here" (analyzing the program of the Party), "not with a Communist society which has *developed* on its own foundations, but with one which has just *issued* actually from capitalist society, and which, in consequence, in all respects—economic, moral and intellectual—still bears the stamp of the old society, from the womb of which it came." And it is this Communist society—a society which has just come into the world out of the womb of Capitalism, and which, in all respects, bears the stamp of the old society—that Marx terms the first, or lower, phase of Communist society.

The means of production are now no longer the private property of individuals. The means of production belong to the whole of society. Every member of society, performing a certain part of socially-necessary labor, receives a certificate from society that he has done such and such a quantity of work. According to this certificate, he receives from the public stores of articles of consumption a corresponding quantity of products. After the deduction of that proportion of labor which goes to the public fund, every worker, therefore, receives from society as much as he has given it.

The first phase of Communism still cannot produce justice and equality; differences and unjust differences, in wealth will still exist, but the *exploitation* of one man by many will have become impossible, because it will be impossible to seize as private property the *means of production,* the factories, machines, land, and so on. While tearing to tatters Lassalle's small bourgeois, confused phrase about "equality" and "justice" *in general,* Marx at the same time shows the *line of development* of Communist society, which is forced at first to destroy *only* the "injustice" that the means of production are in the hands of private individuals. *It is not capable* of destroying at once the further injustice which is constituted by the distribution of the articles of consumption according to "work performed" (and not according to need).

The vulgar economists, including the bourgeois professors, constantly reproach the Socialists with forgetting the inequality of mankind and with "dreaming" of destroying this inequality. Such a reproach, as we see, only proves the extreme ignorance of the bourgeois ideologists.

Marx not only, with the greatest care, takes into account the inevitable inequalities of men; he also takes cognizance of the fact that the mere conversion of the means of production into the common property of the whole of society—"Socialism" in the generally accepted sense of the word—*does not remove* the shortcomings of distribution and the inequality of "bourgeois justice," which continue to exist as long as the products are divided according to the quantity of "work performed."

> "But these defects (Marx continues) are unavoidable in the first phase of Communist society, in the form in which it comes forth, after the prolonged travail of birth, from capitalist society. Justice can never be in advance of its stage of economic development, and of the cultural development of society conditioned by the latter."

And so, in the first phase of Communist society (generally called Socialism) "bourgeois justice is *not* abolished in its entirety, but only in part, only in proportion to the economic transformation so far attained, that is, only in respect of the means of production. "Bourgeois law" recognizes them as the private property of separate individuals. Socialism converts them into common property, and to that extent, and only to that extent, does "bourgeois law" die out. But it continues to live as far as its other part is concerned, in the capacity of regulator or adjuster dividing labor and allotting the products amongst the members of society.

"He who does not work neither shall he eat"—this Socialist principle is *already* realized. "For an equal quantity of labor an equal quantity of products"—this Socialist principle is also already realized. Nevertheless, this is not yet Communism, and this does not abolish "bourgeois law," which gives to unequal individuals, in return for an unequal (in reality) amount of work, an equal quantity of products.

This is a "defect," says Marx, but it is unavoidable during the first phase of Communism; for, if we are not to land in Utopia, we cannot imagine that, having overthrown Capitalism, people will at once learn to work for society *without any regulations by law*; indeed, the abolition of Capitalism does not *immediately* lay the economic foundations for such a change.

And there is no other standard yet than that of "bourgeois law." To this extent, therefore, a form of State is still necessary, which, whilst maintaining the public ownership of the means of production, preserves the equality of labor and equality in the distribution of the products. The State is withering away in so far as there are no longer any capitalists, any classes, and, consequently, any *class* whatever to suppress. But the State is not yet dead altogether, since there still remains the protection of "bourgeois law," which sanctifies actual inequality. For the complete extinction of the State complete Communism is necessary.

The Highest Phase of Communist Society

Marx continues:

> "In the highest phase of Communist society, after the disappearance of the enslavement of man caused by his subjection to the principle of division of labor; when, together with this, the opposition between brain and manual work will have disappeared; when labor will have ceased to be a mere means of supporting life and will itself become one of the first necessities of life; when, with the all-round development of the individual, the productive forces, too, will have grown to maturity, and all the forces of social wealth will be pouring an uninterrupted torrent—only then will it be possible wholly to pass beyond the narrow horizon of bourgeois laws, and only then will society be able to inscribe on its banner: 'From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs.'"

Only now can we appreciate the full justice of Engels's observation when he mercilessly ridiculed all the absurdity of combining the words "freedom" and "State." While the State exists there can be no freedom. When there is freedom there will be no State.

The economic basis for the complete withering away of the State is that high stage of development of Communism when the distinction between brain and manual work disappears; consequently, when one of the principal sources of modern *social* inequalities will have vanished—a source, moreover, which it is impossible to remove immediately by the mere conversion of the means of production into public property, by the mere expropriation of the capitalists.

This expropriation will make it possible gigantically to develop the forces of production. And seeing how incredibly, even now, capitalism *retards* this development, how much progress could be made even on the basis of modern technique at the level it has reached, we have a right to say, with the fullest confidence, that the expropriation of the capitalists will result inevitably in a gigantic development of the productive forces of human society. But how rapidly this development will go forward, how soon it will reach the point of breaking away from the division of labor, of the destruction of the antagonism between brain and manual work, of the transformation of work into a "first necessity of life"—this we do not and *cannot* know.

The State will be able to wither away completely when society has realized the formula: "From each according to his ability; to each according to his needs"; that is, when people have become accustomed to observe the fundamental principles of social life, and their labor is so productive, that they will voluntarily work *according to their abilities.* "The narrow horizon of bourgeois law," which compels one to calculate, with the pitilessness of a Shylock, whether one has not worked half-an-hour more than another, whether one is not getting less pay than another —this narrow horizon will then be left behind. There will then be no need for any exact calculation by society of the quantity of the products to be distributed to each of its members; each will take freely "according to his needs."

From the capitalist point of view, it is easy to declare such a social order "a pure Utopia," and to sneer at the Socialists for promising each the right to receive from society, without any control of the labor of the individual citizens, any quantity of truffles, motor cars, pianos, and so forth. Even now, most bourgeois "savants" deliver themselves of such sneers, but thereby they only display at once their ignorance and their material interest in defending Capitalism. Ignorance—for it has never entered the head of any Socialist "to promise" that the highest phase of Communism will actually arrive, while the *anticipation* of the great Socialists that it *will* arrive, assumes *neither the present* productive powers of labor, *nor the present* unthinking "man in the street" capable of spoiling, without reflection, the stores of social wealth and of demanding the impossible. As long as the "highest" phase of Communism has not arrived, the Socialists demand the *strictest* control, *by society and by the State,* of the quantity of labor and the quantity of consumption; only this control must *start* with the expropriation of the capitalists, with the control of the workers over the capitalists, and must be carried out, not by a government of bureaucrats, but by a government of the *armed workers.*

The interested defense of Capitalism by the capitalist ideologists consists just in that they *substitute* their disputes and discussions about the far future for the essential, imperative questions *of the day;* the expropriation of the capitalists, the conversion of *all* citizens into workers and employees of *one* huge "syndicate"—the whole State—and the complete subordination of the whole of the work of this syndicate to a really democratic State—to the *State consisting of the Councils of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies.* In reality, when a learned professor, and in his train, some writers, and in his wake, politicians talk of unreasonable Utopias, of the demagogic promises of the Bolsheviks, of the impossibility of "bringing in" Socialism, it is the highest stage or phase of Communism which they have in mind, and which no one has promised, nor ever even thought of trying to "bring in," because, in any case, it is altogether impossible to "bring it in."

But the scientific difference between Socialism and Communism is clear. That which is generally called Socialism is termed by Marx the first or lower phase of Communist society. In so far as the means of production become public property, the word Communism is also applicable here, providing that we do not forget that it is not full Communism. The great importance of Marx's explanation is this: that there, too he consistently applies materialist dialectics, the theory of evolution, looking upon Communism as something which evolves *out of* Capitalism. . . .

2. THE NEW PRINCIPLES THAT LENIN ADDED TO MARXISM [8]

. . . There are a number of questions concerning which Lenin contributed something new in developing further the doctrines of Marx:

First, the question of monopolistic Capitalism,—of imperialism as the new phase of Capitalism. Marx and Engels lived in the pre-monopolistic period of Capitalism, in the period of the smooth evolution of Capitalism and its "peaceful" expansion throughout the whole world. This old phase of Capitalism came to a close towards the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, when Marx and Engels had already passed away. Clearly Marx and Engels could only guess at the new conditions of the development of Capitalism which arose out of the new phase of Capitalism which succeeded the older phase. In the imperialistic monopolistic phase of development the smooth evolution of Capitalism gave way to sporadic catastrophic development; the unevenness of development and the contradictions of Capitalism emerged with particular force; the struggle for markets and spheres for the investment of capital conducted amidst conditions of extreme unevenness of development made periodical imperialist wars for a periodical redistribution of the world and of spheres of influence inevitable. The service Lenin rendered, and, consequently, his new contribution, consisted in that he made a fundamental Marxian analysis of imperialism as the final phase of Capitalism, he exposed its ulcers and the conditions of its inevitable doom. On the basis of this analysis arose Lenin's well-known postulate that the conditions of imperialism made possible the victory of Socialism in separate capitalist countries.

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[8] By Stalin, Secretary of the Communist Party.

Second, the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The fundamental idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the political domination of the proletariat and as a method of overthrowing the reign of capital by violence was created by Marx and Engels. Lenin's new contribution in this field consists in that (*a*) utilizing the experience of the Paris Commune and the Russian Revolution he discovered the Soviet form of government as the State form of the dictatorship of the proletariat; (*b*) he deciphered the formula of dictatorship of the proletariat from the point of view of the problem of the proletariat and its allies and defined the dictatorship of the proletariat as a special form of class alliance between the proletariat, who is the leader, and the exploited masses of the non-proletarian classes (the peasantry, etc.) who are led; (*c*) he stressed with particular emphasis the fact that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a higher type of democracy in class society, the form of proletarian democracy, expressing the interests of the majority (the exploited) as against capitalist democracy which expresses the interests of the minority (the exploiters).

Third: the question of the forms and methods of the successful building up of Socialism in the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat, in the period of transition from Capitalism to Socialism in a country encircled by capitalist States. Marx and Engels regarded the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat as a more or less prolonged period replete with revolutionary conflicts and civil war in the course of which the proletariat in power would take the economic, political, cultural and organizational measures necessary for the purpose of establishing a new Socialist society, a society without classes and without a State, in place of the old capitalist society. Lenin wholly and entirely based himself on these fundamental postulates of Marx and Engels. Lenin's new contribution in this field was (*a*) he established the possibility of constructing a complete Socialist Society in a land of the dictatorship of the proletariat encircled by imperialist States provided the country is not crushed by the military intervention of the surrounding capitalist States; (*b*) he outlined the concrete path of economic policy ("the New Economic Policy") by which the proletariat being in command of the economic key positions (industry, land, transport, the banks, etc.), links up Socialized industry with agriculture ("linking up industry with peasant agriculture") and thus leads the whole of national economy toward Socialism; (*c*) he outlined the concrete channels by which the bulk of the peasantry is gradually brought into the line of Socialist construction through the medium of the cooperative societies, which, in the hands of the proletarian dictatorship, represent a powerful instrument for the transformation of petty-peasant economy and for the reëducation of the masses of the peasantry in the spirit of Socialism.

Fourth: the question of the hegemony of the proletariat in revolution, in all popular revolutions—in the revolution against czarism as well as in the revolution against capitalism. Marx and Engels presented the main outlines of the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat. Lenin's new contribution in this field consists in that he further developed and expanded these outlines into a complete system of the hegemony of the proletariat, into a symmetrical system of proletarian leadership of the masses of the toilers in town and country not only in the fight for the overthrow of Czarism and Capitalism, but also in the work of building up Socialism under the Dictatorship of the proletariat. It is well known that, thanks to Lenin and his Party, the idea of the hegemony of the proletariat was skilfully applied in Russia. This, in passing, explains the fact that the Revolution in Russia brought the proletariat to power. In previous revolutions it usually happened that the workers did all the fighting at the barricades, shed their blood and overthrew the old order, but power passed into the hands of the bourgeoisie, which later oppressed and exploited the workers. That was the case in England and in France. That was the case in Germany; in Russia, however, things took a different turn. In Russia, the workers did not merely represent the shock troops of the Revolution. While serving as the shock troops of the Revolution, the Russian proletariat at the same time strove for the hegemony, for the political leadership of all the exploited masses of town and country, rallying them around itself, detaching them from the bourgeoisie and politically isolating the bourgeoisie. Being the leader of the exploited masses, the Russian proletariat all the time waged a fight to seize power in its own hands and utilize it in its own interests against the bourgeoisie and against capitalism. This explains why every powerful outbreak of the Revolution in Russia, as in October, 1905, and in February, 1917, gave rise to Councils of Workers' Deputies as the embryo of the new apparatus of power,—the function of which would be to crush the bourgeoisie—as against the bourgeois parliament, the old apparatus of power —the function of which was to crush the proletariat. On two occasions the bourgeoisie in Russia tried to restore the bourgeois parliament and put an end to the Soviets: in August, 1917, at the time of the "Preliminary Parliament" prior to the capture of power by the Bolsheviks, and in January, 1918, at the time of the "Constituent Assembly" after power had been seized by the proletariat. On both occasions these efforts failed. Why? Because the bourgeoisie was already politically isolated. The vast masses of the toilers regarded the proletariat as the sole leader of the revolution and the Soviets had been already tried and tested by the masses as their own workers' government. For the proletariat to have substituted these Soviets by a bourgeois parliament would be tantamount to committing suicide. It is not surprising, therefore, that bourgeois parliamentarism did not take root in Russia. That is why the Revolution in Russia led to the establishment of the rule of the proletariat. These were the results of the application of the Leninist system of the hegemony of the proletariat in Revolution.

Fifth: the national and colonial question. In analyzing the events in Ireland, India, China and the Central European countries like Poland and Hungary, in their time, Marx and Engels developed the basic, initial ideas of the national and colonial question. In his works Lenin based himself on these ideas. Lenin's new contribution in this field consists in (*a*) that he gathered these ideas into one symmetrical system of views on national and colonial revolutions in the epoch of imperialism; (*b*) that he connected the national and colonial question with the question of overthrowing imperialism, and (*c*) that he declared the national and colonial question to be a component part of the general question of international proletarian revolution.

Finally: the question of the Party of the proletariat. Marx and Engels gave the main outlines of the idea of the Party as being the vanguard of the proletariat without which (the Party) the proletariat could not achieve its emancipation, i.e., could not capture power or reconstruct capitalist society. Lenin's new contribution to this theory consists in that he developed these outlines further and applied them to the new conditions of the struggle of the proletariat in the period of imperialism and showed (*a*) that the Party is a higher form of a class organization of the proletariat as compared with the other forms of proletarian organization (labor unions, cooperative societies, State organization) and, moreover, its function was to generalize and direct the work of these organizations; (*b*) that the dictatorship of the proletariat may be realized only through the Party as its directing force; (*c*) that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be complete only if it is led by a single Party, the Communist Party, which does not and must not share leadership with any other parties; and (*d*) that without iron discipline in the Party the tasks of the dictatorship of the proletariat to crush the exploiters and to transform class society into Socialist society cannot be fulfilled.

This, in the main, is the new contribution which Lenin made in his works; he developed and made more concrete the doctrines of Marx in a manner applicable to the new conditions of the struggle of the proletariat in the period of imperialism.

That is why we say that Leninism is Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions.

From this it is clear that Leninism cannot be separated from Marxism, still less can it be contrasted to Marxism.

The question submitted by the delegation goes on to ask:

"Would it be correct to say that Lenin believed in 'constructive revolution' whereas Marx was more inclined to await the culmination of the development of economic forces?"

I think it would be absolutely incorrect to say that. I think that every popular revolution, if it is really a popular revolution, is a constructive revolution; for it breaks up the old system and creates a new. Of course, there is nothing constructive in such revolutions (if we can call them that) as take place, let us say, in Albania in the form of toy "rebellions" of one tribe against another. But Marxists never regarded such toy "rebellions" as revolutions. Apparently, it is not such "rebellions" that we are discussing, but mass popular revolutions, the rising of oppressed classes against oppressing classes. Such a revolution cannot but be contructive. Marx and Lenin stood for such a revolution and only for such a revolution. It must be added, of course, that such a revolution cannot arise under all conditions, but can unfold itself only under certain favorable economic and political conditions.

3. THE THEORY OF THE PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION[9]

The Leninist theory of the proletarian revolution is based on three fundamental theses:

First Thesis. The domination of finance capital, whose chief business is the emission of stocks and bonds, in the advanced capitalist countries; the export of capital to the sources of raw materials, which is one of the bases of Imperialism; the omnipotence of a financial oligarchy, a consequence of the domination of finance capital. All this reveals the parasitic character of monopolist Capitalism, makes the yoke of the capitalist syndicates and trusts much more intolerable, increases the indignation of the working class against Capitalism, and drives the masses to the proletarian revolution in which they see their only means of escape. (Vide Lenin's *Imperialism*).

As a result, an intensification of the revolutionary crisis in the capitalist countries, an increase in the causes of conflict on the internal proletarian front, in the "mother countries."

Second Thesis. The growing export of capital into the colonies and subject countries; the extension of "spheres of influence" and colonization to the extent of seizing upon all the territory of the earth; the transformation of capitalism into a *world system* of financial bondage, and of colonial oppression of the vast majority of mankind by a few "advanced" countries. All this has made the isolated national economic systems links in a single chain called the world-economy and have divided the population of the world into two camps: on the one hand, the "advanced" capitalist countries which exploit and oppress vast colonies as well as countries nominally more or less independent; on the other, the immense majority in the colonial and subject countries, driven to struggle to free themselves from the capitalist yoke. (*Vide* Lenin's *Imperialism*).

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[9] Reprinted from *Theory and Practice of Leninism,* by I. Stalin. London: Communist Party of Great Britain, 1926.

In consequence, a worsening of the revolutionary crisis in the colonial countries, a strengthening of the spirit of revolt against Imperialism on the external front, the colonial front.

Third Thesis. The monopoly of "spheres of influence" and of colonies, the unequal development of the different capitalist countries which leads to a bitter struggle between the countries which have already partitioned the territories of the globe, and those countries which want to receive their "share," Imperialist wars, the one method of restoring "equilibrium." All this brings about the creation of a third front, the inter-capitalist battle line, which weakens Imperialism and facilitates the union of the proletarian and colonial front against Imperialism.

Hence the inevitability of wars under Imperialism, the inevitability of the coalition of the proletarian revolution in Europe with the colonial revolution in the East, the formation of a single world front of the revolution over against the world front of Imperialism.

From all these deductions Lenin makes the general deduction that "Imperialism is the eve of the Socialist revolution." (Vide *Imperialism.*)

Consequently, the way of looking at the proletarian revolution, its character, main lines and extent, is no longer the same as before.

Formerly one usually analyzed the premises of the proletarian revolution from the point of view of the economic situation of this or that isolated country. This method is not inadequate. Today one has to begin from the point of view of the economic situation of all, or a majority of, countries, from the point of view of the state of world-economy. In fact, the countries and isolated national economies are no longer independent economic units, but are links of a single chain called the world-economy, and the old "civilising" Capitalism has grown into Imperialism, which is a world-system of financial bondage and of colonial oppression of the majority of the population of the globe by a few "advanced" countries.

Formerly it was the custom to talk of the existence or absence of the objective conditions of the proletarian revolution in isolated countries, or, to be more exact, in this or that advanced country. This point of view is now inadequate. It is necessary to take into account the existence of the objective conditions of the revolution through the whole system of Imperialist world-economy, which forms a single whole. The existence within this system of some countries which are not sufficiently developed from the industrial point of view cannot be an insurmountable obstacle to the Revolution *from the moment when,* or more correctly since, the system as a whole is already ripe for the Revolution.

Formerly again, one spoke of the proletarian revolution in this or that advanced country as having an independent growth, similar to that of the rôle of capital. Today this point of view is inadequate. It is necessary to speak of proletarian world-revolution, for the different national fronts of capital have become links in a single chain, the world-front of Imperialism to which must be opposed the single front of the revolutionary movement of all countries.

Formerly one used to see in the proletarian revolution the consequence of the exclusively internal development of a given country. At the present time this point of view is inadequate. It is necessary to regard the proletarian revolution before all as a result of the development of the contradictions within the world-system of Imperialism, as the result of the breaking of the chain of the Imperialist world-front, in this or that country.

Where will the revolution begin; where, in what country can the front of capital first be pierced?

Where industry is most perfected, where the proletariat forms the majority, where civilization is most advanced, where democracy is most developed—so one used to answer.

No, replies the Leninist theory of the revolution. The front of capital will not necessarily be pierced where industry is most developed, it will be broken where the chain of Imperialism is weakest, for the proletarian revolution is the result of the rupture of the chain of the Imperialist front at its weakest point. So then it is possible that the country which begins the revolution, which makes a breach in the capitalist front, may be less developed from the capitalist point of view than others which remain, nevertheless, within the framework of capitalism.

In 1917 the chain of the Imperialist world-front happened to be weaker in Russia than in the other countries. It was there that it was broken and gave an outlet to the proletarian revolution. Why? Because in Russia there unfolded a great popular revolution led by the revolutionary proletariat which had for itself so important an ally as the peasantry, oppressed and exploited by the landed proprietors. Because the revolution had Tsarism for its opponent, the most hideous representative of Imperialism, deprived of all moral authority and hated by the whole people. The chain proved to be weakest in Russia, although that country was less developed from the capitalist point of view than, for example, France, Germany, England or America.

Where is the chain going to broken next? Precisely where it is weakest. It is not impossible, for example, that it may be in India. Why?

Because there is a young and combative revolutionary proletariat which has for ally the movement for national liberation, which is unquestionably very powerful. Because in that country the revolution has for its enemy a foreign Imperialism, deprived of all moral authority and hated by the oppressed and exploited masses of India.

It is just as possible that the chain will be broken in Germany. Why? Because the factors which are at work in India are begining to influence Germany just as much. Of course, the tremendous difference in level of development between India and Germany cannot but set its distinctive mark on the progress and outcome of the revolution in Germany.

That is why Lenin said that "The capitalist countries of Western Europe will accomplish their evolution toward Socialism, not by the methodical maturing of Socialism in these countries, but by means of the exploitation of certain States by others, through the exploitation of the first State that is defeated in the Imperialist war, combined with the exploitation of the whole of the East. . . . The East, on the other hand, definitely entered into the revolutionary movement in consequence of this first Imperialist war; it has been drawn into the whirlpool of the world revolutionary movement." (See *Better Less, But Better.*)

To put it briefly, the chain of the Imperialist front should be broken, as a rule, where the links are most fragile and not in any case necessarily where capitalism is most developed, where there is a considerable percentage of proletarians and relatively few peasants, and so on.

That is why statistical data of the proportion of the proletariat in the population of an isolated country, lose, in the solution of the question of the proletarian revolution, the exceptional importance willingly attached to them by the statisticians of the Second International, who have not understood Imperialism and are as afraid of revolution as of the plague.

The men of the Second International asserted (and kept on asserting) that between the democratic bourgeois revolution and the proletarian revolution there is a chasm, or, at any rate, a Chinese wall dividing one from the other for a protracted period in the course of which the bourgeoisie having come to power, develop capitalism while the proletariat accumulates forces and prepares for the "decisive struggle" against capitalism. This interval is usually measured by tens of years, if not more. The theory is obviously void of scientific foundations under Imperialism; it is and can be only a means of concealing the counter-revolutionary intentions of the bourgeoisie. It is clear that in the epoch when Imperialism, which carries within it the germ of collisions and wars, is sovereign, on the eve of the Socialist revolution, when the old "flourishing" capitalism is now only a "dying" Capitalism, when the revolutionary movement is growing in every country in the world, when Imperialism is allied with all reactionary forces, including autocracy and serfdom, making the bloc of all revolutionary forces from the proletarian movement of the West to the national-liberation movements of the East so much more necessary, at the moment when the suppression of the survival of the feudal régime becomes impossible without a revolutionary struggle against Imperialism—it is clear, I say, that the bourgeois-democratic revolution, in a country more or less developed, should tend toward, and grow into, the proletarian revolution. The history of the revolution in Russia has peremptorily proved the correctness of this proposition. So Lenin was right when in 1905, on the eve of the first Russian Revolution, he represented (in his brochure *Two Tactics*) the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the Socialist revolution as two links of the same chain, as two natural stages of the Russian revolution:

"The proletariat ought to push the democratic revolution to completion, rallying behind itself the peasant mass so as to crush by force the resistance of the autocracy and paralyse the unstable bourgeoisie. It should carry through the Socialist revolution by rallying to it the semi-proletarian elements so as to break the resistance of the bourgeoisie and paralyze the instability of the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie. Such are the tasks which the partisans of the new 'Iskra' represent in such a narrow form in their arguments and resolutions on the extent of the revolution."

I will not speak here of Lenin's later works, where the idea of the growth of the bourgeois revolution into the proletarian revolution is put more clearly and forms one of the corner stones of the theory of the revolution.

Certain Communists believe that Lenin came to this idea only in 1916, and that before that he thought that the revolution in Russia would remain within the bourgeois framework and that power consequently would pass to the bourgeoisie and not to the proletariat. This opinion has, it is said, penetrated into our Communist press. But it is completely wrong.

To prove it, I could refer to Lenin's well-known speech at the Third Party Congress (1905) in which Lenin described the dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, that is to say the victory of the democratic revolution, not as an "organization for order," but as an "organization for war." (Vol. VI of Lenin's works).

Further, I could recall the articles on *The Provisional Government* (1905) in which Lenin, depicting the development of the revolution in Russia, declares:

> "The Party ought so to act that the Russian Revolution may be a movement not of a few months, but of a number of years, and that it may lead not merely to slight concessions on the part of the authorities, but to the complete overthrow of these authorities."

Developing the picture of this revolution which he connects with that of Europe, Lenin goes on to say:

> "And if we succeed, the revolutionary conflagration will encompass Europe; the European worker, unable to tolerate the bourgeois reaction any longer, will rise in his turn and show us how things should be done; and then the revolutionary impulse in Europe will react upon Russia and in a period of a few revolutionary years will make an epoch of several revolutionary decades."

I could equally well cite an article published in November, 1915, in which Lenin writes:

> "The proletariat fights and will fight for the conquest of power, the Republic, the confiscation of the land, the participation of the non-proletarian popular masses in the liberation of the bourgeois Russia from the yoke of this feudal-militarist Imperialism which is called Tsardom. And it will immediately profit from that liberation from the yoke of Tsarism, of the power of the landed proprietors, not to come to the aid of the well-to-do peasants in their struggle against the agricultural workers, but to bring about the socialist revolution in union with the European proletariat." (*Against the Stream*)

Finally, I could recall a well-known passage from *The Proletarian Revolution and Kautsky the Renegade,* where Lenin referring to his picture of the Russian Revolution in *Two Tactics,* arrives at the following conclusion:

> "The development of the revolution has confirmed the correctness of our reasoning. First the proletariat marched with all the peasantry against the monarchy, the landed proprietor, the medievalist regime (and to that extent the revolution was still bourgeois, democratic-bourgeois). Then, with the poor peasants, the semi-proletarians, all the exploited, it marched against capitalism and its rural representatives—the rich, the 'village vultures,' the speculators; and so the revolution became Socialist. To attempt to raise an artificial barrier between the first and second revolutions, which are made separate only by the degree of preparation of the proletariat, the degree of its union with the poor peasants, is to distort Marxism, to debase it, to put Liberalism in its place."

This seems sufficient.

But, we are asked, if it is so, why did Lenin oppose the idea of the "permanent revolution"?

Because he wanted to make full use of the *revolutionary* capacities and energy of the peasantry for the complete liquidation of Tsarism and the transition of the proletarian revolution, while the partisans of the "permanent revolution" did not understand the important role of the peasantry in the Russian Revolution, under-estimated its revolutionary energy and so hindered its emancipation from tutelage to the bourgeoisie, its rallying round the proletariat.

Because Lenin wanted to *crown* the revolution with the coming of the proletariat to power, while the partisans of the "permanent revolution" wanted to begin by the establishment of the power of the proletariat, not realising that, by that itself, they were closing their eyes to such a "detail" as the existence of survivals of serfdom, were neglecting so important a force as the peasantry, and were hindering the latter from rallying to the proletariat.

Thus Lenin opposed the partisans of the "permanent revolution," not because they asserted the continuity of the revolution, a thesis he himself never ceased to support, but because they under-estimated the role of the peasantry which is the greatest reserve of power for the proletariat.

The idea of the "permanent revolution" is not new. It was expounded for the first time by Marx in 1850, in the *Address to the League of Communists.* It was there that our Russian "permanentalists" went to look for it, but the modification which they made it undergo was enough to make it unfit for practical use. The skilful hand of Lenin was needed to make good this error, to separate the idea of the "permanent revolution" from its dross, and make it a corner-stone of the theory of the revolution. This is what Marx says of the "permanent revolution" in his *Address,* after having enumerated the revolutionary democratic demands which the Communists ought to put forward:

"When the petty bourgeois democrats wish, by satisfying most of the demands enumerated above, to end the revolution, as quickly as possible, our interests and our tasks consist in making the revolution permanent as long as all the more or less possessing classes are not removed from power, and while the proletariat has not conquered the power of the States, while the associations of proletarians in the principal countries of the world are not developed enough to put an end to competition between the proletarians of those countries and while the chief forces of production, at least, are not concentrated in the hands of the proletarians."

That is to say:

First, Marx in spite of what our Russian "permanentalists" say, did not propose to *begin* the revolution in the Germany of 1850 directly by the establishment of proletarian power.

Second, Marx proposed only to *crown* the revolution with the proletarian political power, by overthrowing successively every fraction of the bourgeoisie in order, after the coming of the proletariat to power, to light the torch of revolution in every country. Now this is *perfectly consistent* with all that Lenin taught, with all that he did in the course of our revolution, following his theory of the proletarian revolution under Imperialism.

So, then, our Russian "permanentalists" have not only under-estimated the rôle of the peasantry in the Russian Revolution, but have modified Marx's idea of the "permanent revolution" and deprived it of all its practical value.

That is why Lenin ridiculed their theory, calling it "original" and "charming" and accused them of not wishing "to reflect on the reasons for which life, over a period of dozens of years, has passed beside this charming theory." (Lenin's article of 1915, ten years before the theory of the "permanent revolution" first saw the light.)

That is why he thought this theory was semi-Menshevism, and said that it "borrowed from the Bolsheviks the call to the decisive revolutionary struggle, and the conquest of power by the proletariat, and from the Mensheviks the denial of the rôle of the peasantry." (*Vide* the article "The Two Lines of Revolution," in *Against the Stream.*)

This then is how Lenin conceived the growth of the democratic bourgeois revolution into the proletarian revolution, the using of the bourgeois revolution for the "immediate transition to the proletarian revolution."

Let us continue. Formerly, the victory of the revolution in a single country was considered impossible, for, so it was said, to defeat the bourgeoisie by the combined action of the proletarians of all, or at least a majority of, the advanced countries was necessary. This point of view no longer tallies with facts. It is now necessary to begin with the possibility of victory over the bourgeoisie in a single country because the unequal, irregular development of the capitalist countries under Imperialism, the aggravation of the catastrophic internal contradictions of Imperialism, leading inevitably to wars, the strengthening of the revolutionary movement in every country, leads not only to the possibility, but to the necessity of the victory of the proletariat in isolated countries. The history of the Russian Revolution is a striking proof of that. Of the old theory only this has to be retained, that certain indispensable conditions are required for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, and without them the proletariat cannot even dream of seizing power.

This is what Lenin says of these conditions:

> "The fundamental law of revolution, confirmed by every revolution, and particularly by the three Russian revolutions of the 20th century, is as follows. It is not sufficient for the revolution that the exploited and oppressed masses understand the impossibility of living in the old way and demand changes; for the revolution it is necessary that the exploiters should not be able to live and rule as of old. Only when the masses do not want the old regime, and when the rulers are *unable to govern them as of old,* only then can the revolution succeed. This truth may be expressed in other words. *Revolution is impossible without an all-national crisis,* affecting both the exploited and the exploiter. It follows that for the revolution it is essential, first, that a majority of the workers (or at least a majority of the conscious, thinking, politically-active workers) should fully understand the necessity for a revolution, and be ready to sacrifice their lives for it; second, that the ruling class be in a state of governmental crisis which attracts even the most backward masses into politics. It is a sign of every real revolution, this rapid ten-fold, or even hundred-fold

increase in the number of representatives of the toiling and oppressed masses, heretofore apathetic, who are able to carry on a political fight which weakens the government and facilitates its overthrow by the revolutionaries." (*Left Wing Communism*, ch. 9)

But to overthrow the power of the bourgeoisie and establish that of the proletariat in a single country is still not to assure the complete victory of Socialism. The chief task, the organization of Socialist production, is still to be accomplished. Can we succeed, and secure the definite victory of Socialism in one country, without the combined efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries? Most certainly not. The efforts of a single country are enough to overthrow the bourgeoisie; this is what the history of our revolution proves. But for the definitive triumph of Socialism, the organization of Socialist production, the efforts of one country alone are not enough, particularly of an essentially rural country like Russia; the efforts of the proletarians of several advanced countries are needed. So the victorious revolution in one country has for its essential task to develop and support the revolution in others. So it ought not to be considered as of independent value, but as an auxiliary, a means of hastening the victory of the proletariat in other countries.

Lenin has curtly expressed this thought in saying that the task of the victorious revolution consists in doing the "utmost in one country for the development, support, awakening of the revolution *in other countries*." (*Vide The Proletarian Revolution.*)

Such in general are the characteristic features of Lenin's theory of the proletarian revolution.

4. WHAT IS THE CHIEF INCENTIVE TO PRODUCTION IN RUSSIA?[10]

. . . First of all, the fact that the factories and workshops in the U. S. S. R.[11] belong to the whole people and not to capitalists, that the factories and workshops are managed not by the appointees of capitalists, but by representatives of the working class; the consciousness that the workers work, not for the capitalist, but for their own State, for their own class, represents an enormous driving force in the development and perfection of our industry. It must be observed that the overwhelming majority of the factory and works managers in Russia are workingmen, appointed by the Supreme Economic Council in agreement with the trade unions and that not a single factory manager can remain at his post contrary to the will of the workers or the particular trade union.

It must be observed also that in every factory and workshop there is a factory council, elected by the workers, which controls the activities of the management of the particular enterprise. Finally, it must be observed that in every industrial enterprise regular production conferences of workers are held in which all the workers employed in the given enterprise take part and at which the work of the manager of the enterprise is discussed and criticized; the plan of work in the factory administration is discussed, errors and defects are noted and rectified through the trade unions, through the Party and through the organs of the Soviet administration. It is not difficult to understand, therefore, that all these circumstances radically alter the position of the workers as well as the state of affairs in the various enterprises. While, under Capitalism the workers regard their factory as a prison, under the Soviet system the workers no longer regard the factory as a prison, but as something near and dear to them and in the development and improvement of which they are vitally interested. It is hardly necessary to prove that this new attitude of the workers towards the enterprise in which they are employed, this understanding of the close ties that link the workers with the enterprise, represents a powerful driving force for the whole of our industry. This circumstance explains the fact that the number of worker-inventors in the field of technique of production, and worker-organizers of industry increases from day to day.

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[10] By Stalin, Secretary of the Communist Party.

[11] Letters standing for the official name of the government, Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Secondly, the revenues from industry in Russia are employed not for the enrichment of individuals, but for the further expansion of industry, for the improvement of the material and cultural conditions of the working class, for reducing the price of industrial commodities necessary both for the workers and for the peasants, which again is the improvement of the material conditions of the toiling masses. A capitalist cannot employ his revenues for improving the welfare of the working class. He lives for profit; otherwise he would not be a capitalist. He obtains profit in order to invest it as surplus capital in less developed countries suffering from shortage of capital in order again to obtain fresh and increased profit. That is how capital flows from the United States to China, to Indonesia, to South America and Europe and from France to the French colonies and from England to the British colonies.

In the U. S. S. R. things are altogether different; for we neither conduct nor recognize colonial policy. In Russia, the revenues from industry remain in the country and are employed for the further expansion of industry, for improving the conditions of the workers, for enlarging the capacity of the home market, including also the peasant market, by reducing the price of industrial commodities. Ten per cent of the profits from industry in our country goes to a fund for improving the social conditions of the workers. A sum equal to 13 per cent of the wages paid is contributed to a sick insurance fund for the insurance of workers. (This represents 800 million roubles per annum.) A certain part of the revenues (I cannot just now say exactly how much) is employed for cultural requirements, vocational training and vacations for the workers. A fairly considerable part of these revenues (again I cannot now say exactly how much) is employed for the annual increase in the money wages of the workers. The rest of the revenues from industry are employed for the further expansion of industry, for the repair of old workshops, for the construction of new workshops and finally for the reduction of prices of industrial commodities. The enormous significance of these circumstances for our industry consists in (*a*) that they facilitate the linking up of agriculture with industry and the smoothing out of the antagonism between town and country; (*b*) that they facilitate the increase of the capacity of the home market—urban and rural—and by that create a constantly expanding base for the further development of industry.

Finally, the nationalization of industry facilitates the conduct of industry as a whole according to plan.

Will these stimuli and motive forces of our industry be permanent factors? Can they be permanently operative factors? Yes, undoubtedly they are permanently operative stimuli and motive forces, and the more our industry develops, the more the strength and significance of these factors will grow.

IV. CONSEQUENCES

The consequences of any revolutionary movement are bound to be controversial, for not until decades have passed can history record with impartiality. Only now are we able to describe events in the French Revolution with some degree of fairness. However, we cannot wait for the verdict of history because as we have noted in Book I, our nation is in constant reaction to every great historical movement even while it is developing and may be profoundly affected long before the historian can make his appraisal certain.

I. THE NATURE OF THE RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT [12]

Structure of the State

The soviet system was not created, as many have supposed, by Lenin and the Communist Party. These councils came into existence during the Revolution of 1905 against the Czar. They were virtually strike committees, organized in factories and in the army. Although suppressed after 1905, they revived immediately on the outbreak of the Revolution of 1917. "All power to the Soviets" early became the rallying cry of the Communist Party.

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[12] By Jerome Davis. From *Soviet Russia in the Second Decade*, pp. 115-140.

The soviet system makes no attempt to hide its class character. Its official title is "The Workers' and Peasants' Government." Bukharin, in his *A. B. C. of Communism,* states clearly the theory on which the soviet structure is built. Economic classes with opposing interest cannot be reconciled any more than wolves and sheep. "Sheep must protect themselves against the wolves. It is absurd to suppose that you can secure a common sheep-wolves' will. There must be either a wolves' will or a sheeps' will. In the same way, there cannot be a common capitalistic-labor will. It must be either one or the other." The soviet system is a very ingenious device for placing control in the hands of the masses of the workers and peasants, while at the same time enabling the Communist Party to lead them in running the government. The indirect method by which the higher soviets are elected favors a well-organized party.

As a result of the Revolution, the Russian Empire lost about 5 per cent. of her former area. At the close of 1922, when the Japanese withdrew from Vladivostok, the Far-Eastern Republic occupying the eastern part of Siberia decided to affiliate with the Russian Soviet Federation, which as a result still stretches to the Pacific, and embraces one-sixth of the earth's surface. The census taken in December, 1926, showed that the total population was 146,400,000, of which 18 per cent. is urban and 82 per cent. rural. It was made up roughly of 23,000,000 households, 387,000 villages, and 743 towns and cities.

The first constitution of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic was adopted on July 10, 1918. This was superseded by a revised form on May 11, 1925. On December 30, 1922, at the First Federated Congress of Soviets, with 3,077 delegates, an agreement was reached to form a Soviet Union Federation. This eventually included the six allied socialist soviet republics: Russian, Ukrainian, White Russian, Transcaucasian, Uzbek, and Turkoman. Each is guaranteed the right to withdraw from the union at any time.

The Transcaucasian Federation is, in turn, a union of three republics: Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia. As a part of the Russian Federation there are eleven autonomous republics and twelve autonomous territories. The republics have their own people's commissars, and their independent rights are greater than the territories. The territories may or may not have their own people's commissars according to their needs, but they have a central executive committee elected by their own congress of soviets. The laws enacted in a territory must have the approval of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee to be valid. Within Russia there are two separate systems of political subdivision. One is the gubernia, uyezd, and volost; the other, okrug, rayon and selo. In both cases they correspond to our state, county and township, although these districts (except for the selo, or village) are much larger than in America. Some of the uyezds are larger than many of our states and the volost usually contains many villages.

Eventually it is planned to divide Russia on the basis of her economic needs and have the political divisions coincide, using the second terminology entirely.

Representation in the Soviet Union is occupational rather than territorial. The soviets, being councils of workers and peasants, represent the various occupational strata within the nation. In the agricultural districts, since all are peasants, there is virtually geographical representation plus occupational.

The organization within the Russian Republic is clearly shown on the adjoining diagram (A). Each village of over three hundred inhabitants elects its local council or soviet on the basis of one deputy to one hundred inhabitants. The deputies in turn select an executive committee which runs the local government. Villages with a population under three hundred usually unite for electoral purposes. The delegates from the various village soviets are sent once a year to the township, or volost, congresses on the basis of one delegate to three hundred inhabitants. Delegates from the volost are sent to the county, or uyezd, congress on the basis of one deputy to one thousand inhabitants, to the province, or gubernia, congress on the basis of one delegate to ten thousand inhabitants. To this latter congress are also sent representatives from the cities on the basis of one deputy per two thousand electors. All of these congresses meet once a year, unless called in special session. Each elects a permanent central executive committee which holds office until the next congress.

Each city has its city soviet, elected from the various workers, both of hand and brain, within the municipality. The gubernia soviets send delegates to the annual congress of their respective republics as well as to the All-Union Congress of Soviets. It was formerly thought that the city, in addition to the gubernia soviet, sent delegates to the national congresses. This is a mistake. The delegates are all chosen from the gubernia congress, although the number to be elected are determined on the basis of one delegate per 125,000 county inhabitants, and one delegate per 25,000 electors in the cities.

In the All-Union Congress of Soviets, all the various republics within the union are represented. Last year there were about fifteen hundred delegates. The Congress is the supreme authority, having both legislative and administrative functions. When the Congress is not in session, this authority devolves upon the Union Central Executive Committee, which consists of the Council of the Union and a Council of Nationalities. The Council of the Union is elected by the Congress with representatives in proportion to the population of the six constituent republics. At present it is composed of 450 members. Since the Russian Federation comprises 74 per cent. of the population, in practice it controls the Council of the Union. The Council of Nationalities has five representatives from each of the constituent and allied republics and one representative from each

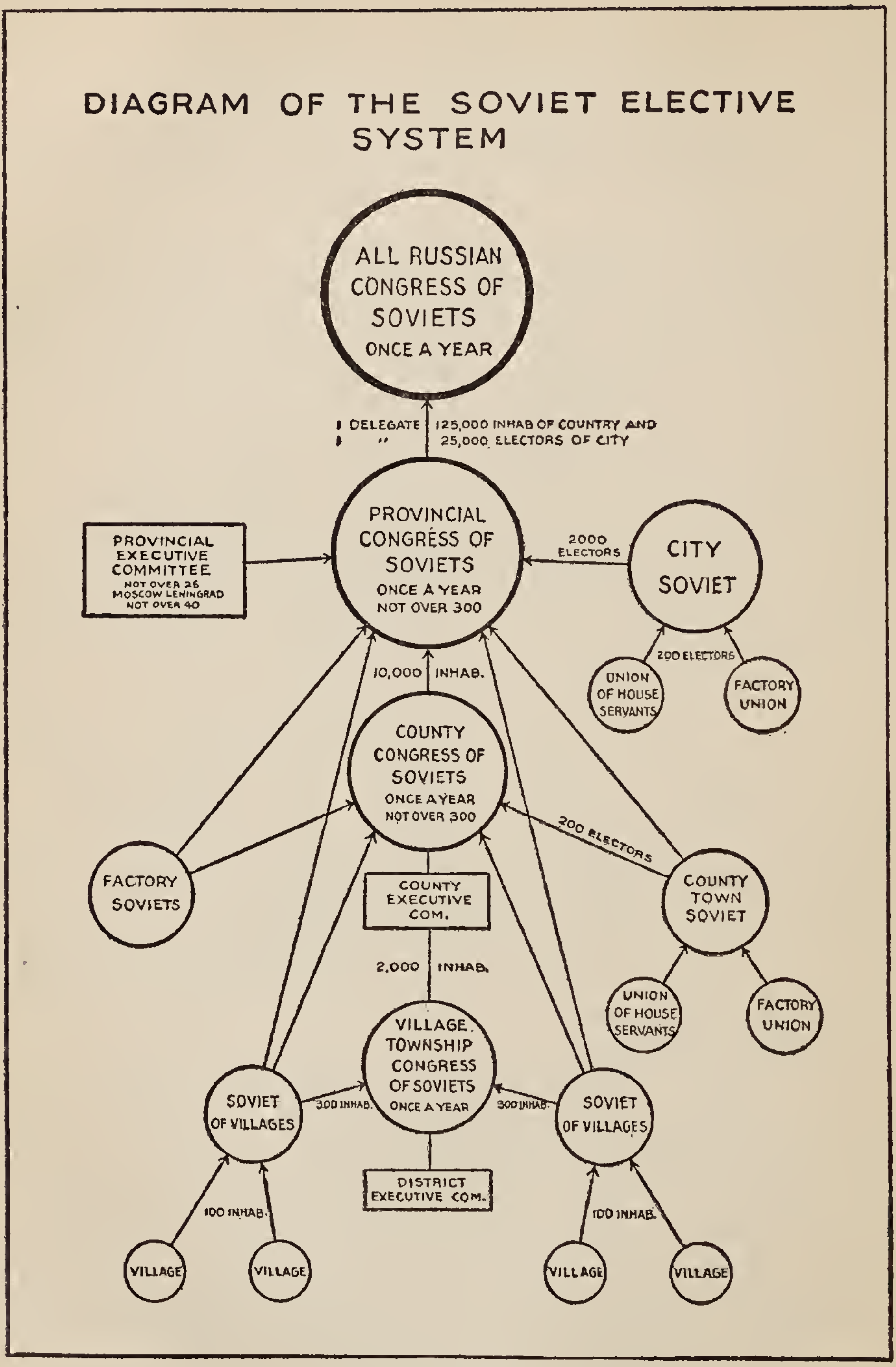


DIAGRAM OF THE SOVIET ELECTIVE SYSTEM
ALL RUSSIAN CONGRESS OF SOVIETS ONCE A YEAR
1 DELEGATE 125,000 INHAB OF COUNTRY AND
1 " 25,000 ELECTORS OF CITY
PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE NOT OVER 26 MOSCOW LENINGRAD NOT OVER 40
PROVINCIAL CONGRESS OF SOVIETS ONCE A YEAR NOT OVER 300
2000 ELECTORS
CITY SOVIET
200 ELECTORS
UNION OF HOUSE SERVANTS
FACTORY UNION
10,000 INHAB.
COUNTY CONGRESS OF SOVIETS ONCE A YEAR NOT OVER 300
200 ELECTORS
FACTORY SOVIETS
COUNTY TOWN SOVIET
COUNTY EXECUTIVE COM.
2,000 INHAB.
UNION OF HOUSE SERVANTS
FACTORY UNION
VILLAGE TOWNSHIP CONGRESS OF SOVIETS ONCE A YEAR
SOVIET OF VILLAGES
300 INHAB.
300 INHAB.
SOVIET OF VILLAGES
DISTRICT EXECUTIVE COM.
100 INHAB.
100 INHAB.
VILLAGE
VILLAGE
VILLAGE
VILLAGE

DIAGRAM A.

autonomous territory—131 members in all. The national representatives are not elected, but appointed by the governments of the respective republics, although, in theory, the appointment must be approved by the Union Congress.

A law affecting the entire Union must be approved by the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities. If there is a difference between them they appoint a joint committee similar to the method used by the United States Congress in disagreements between the Senate and the House. In cases where this committe is unable to reach an agreement, the matter can be settled by the Central Executive Committee, or by the All-Union Congress of Soviets. The Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities each separately elects a smaller body of nine called a Presidium. These two groups, together with nine members elected by the Central Executive Committee as a whole, makes up the Presidium of the Union Central Executive Committee, which handles all executive matters when the Central Executive Committee is not in session. Normally the Central Executive Committee meets but three times a year. It is popularly called "Tseek," from the initials of the words C. I. K. As the chief legislative body in Russia it passes the budgets, receives the reports of the various commissars, and discusses and acts on international questions. It also "has the right to suspend or repeal decrees, resolutions and orders of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, and also of Congresses of Soviets and Central Executive Committees of Constituent Republics and other organs of authority in the territory of the Union." It also elects a Council of People's Commissars, which corresponds to the cabinet in the United States, but has greater power. This Council can pass emergency legislation and issue orders which have as much legal standing as an act of Congress in our country, except that they can be modified or changed by the Central Executive Committee. In actual practice it is usual for all decisions of the Council of People's Commissars, except in minor matters and in cases of emergency, to be approved by the Central Executive Committee. Four of the People's Commissars deal with matters which fall exclusively within the jurisidiction of the Union as a whole. The allied republics have no corresponding commissars. Naturally, however, each of these commissars has his representatives in the various republics. These departments are: Foreign Affairs, Army and Navy, Transportation, Post and Telegraph.

Another group of commissars to be found both in the Union and in the various republics are (1) Labor, (2) Finance, (3) Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, (4) Home and Foreign Trade, (5) The Supreme Economic Council. In addition, each republic has the following commissars: (1) Internal Affairs, (2) Health, (3) Justice, (4) Education, (5) Agriculture, (6) Social Welfare.

A very important committee of the Council of People's Commissars is known as the Council of Labor and Defense. The chairman of the Council of People's Commissars is also the chairman of the Council of Labor and Defense. Other members are the People's Commissar for War, Supreme Economic Council, Labor, Ways and Communication, Agriculture, Home and Foreign Trade, Workers' and Peasants' Inspection. The All-Russian Council of Trade Unions also appoints its representatives, while the Central Statistical Department is represented at the sessions in an advisory capacity, as is also the People's Commissar of Finance, whenever a financial matter is under consideration. The purpose of the Council of Labor and Defense is to regulate the general economic life of the nation. Its decisions are binding on all central and local organizations, but are subject to revision by the Central Executive Committee. However, the Council has no machinery for carrying out its decisions except through the People's Commissars.

Occupational Representation

As we have noted, representation in the Soviet Union is occupational rather than territorial. The Communists believe the right to vote should rest, not on the ownership of property, but rather on the function which the individual performs in society. The test is whether the individual is serving society in a useful way, and is not using others for personal gain. Everyone therefore has a right to vote who is above 18 years of age, except the mentally deficient, criminals, those who employ labor for gain, those who live on rent or interest (speculation), and those who because of their occupation are supposed to be defenders of the old Czar's order and the counter-revolution. These are chiefly the clergy, who were supported by the Czar, and former Czar's police. It is not even necessary to be a Russian citizen in order to vote. Any foreigner can vote if he is working in a Russian institution, and does not fall into one of the excluded groups. The present percentage of those who are disfranchised is rather slight—between 5 and 6 per cent. of those of voting age.

There is an economic gain in restricting the number of voters since those who are excluded must pay higher taxes. Another advantage of disfranchisement is that it destroys to some extent their prestige and influence, and prevents their election to political office. There is no question but that in some cases, however, the result is unfair. Investigation made in Vladimir Gubernia in 1927 showed that on an average 5 per cent. of the city population was disfranchised, but less than 1 per cent. of the village population.

Within the Russian Soviet Republic there is a village population of just over 83,000,000. Of these 41,604,000 are of voting age. The number excluded from the elections has been: 1922, 1.4 per cent.; 1923, 1.4 per cent.; 1924–25, 1.3 per cent.; 1925–26, 1 per cent. They were excluded for the following reasons:

	1924–25 %	1925–26 %
Those who hired labor for private gain	37.6	46.4
Employees and agents of the former Czar's police	30.1	20.9
Professional religious workers and monks	20.5	23.4
Criminals and others excluded by court action	9.4	5.7
Miscellaneous	2.4	3.6

The Russians maintain that those who work together can much more intelligently elect a representative than those who merely live together. A teacher should know best the right teacher to select, a toolmaker should know the best toolmaker in his union, whereas each might be quite ignorant of the best man in the ward division of a city. Everyone in the city who works and does not exploit another is entitled to belong to some union organization. Even cab drivers can belong to the Transport Workers, and so elect their own representative. In the villages, since nearly everyone belongs to the peasant class, there is, as has been noted, both geographical and occupational representation.

Elections

By law, elections are held annually. Usually an electoral committee is appointed. Sometimes the chairman is sent from the next higher state organ. Thus, the chairman of the uyezd or county committee might be sent by the gubernia or provincial electoral committee. The size of this committee varies according to the place. For example, in Rostoff on the Don, it was composed of nine people, and represented (1) the trade unions, (2) the Communist youth, (3) the women workers, and (4) the Presidium of the city soviet; the remainder being from various trade unions. This committee drew up the lists of those to be excluded. These were published two or three weeks before the elections, in fifty-five different districts of the city.

In Tiflis, in place of one city election committee, there were four precinct committees composed of five members each. It can thus be seen that there is a good deal of latitude in regard to the actual conduct of elections. It must be remembered that the law in Russia is not hard and fixed. The revolution is only ten years old. If a soviet does not wish to abide by the letter of the law, it feels free to change it, provided it observes the spirit. However, every year sees an advance in observing the general legal requirements and recommendations from the central government.

Elections are not held on a fixed day, as in the United States. In fact, the entire process of electioneering consumes in the neighborhood of a month or more. Fifteen days are used by the old elected officers in telling their constituents about their records, while another fifteen days are used in voting. An election will take place in one factory on Monday, in another on Tuesday and so on. While the law permits the freeing of workers for elections, in practice the election is often held after working hours. It is not compulsory to have all the employees in a factory meet jointly. For example, a tobacco factory in Rostoff, employing four thousand workers, had two different elections for two different parts of the plant. Another factory, no larger, had five separate elections for five different parts of the plant. When a factory election is divided, each section elects only a proportional number.

In 1926, in the Rostoff tobacco factory, the entire election was invalidated because one meeting elected the ticket for all the factory instead of its proportion. In the county 35 per cent. of the eligible voters must appear in order to have a valid election, and in the cities 50 per cent. If, however, one election has been declared invalid because there were not a sufficient number of voters, the second is legal in any case. In Rostoff, there was not a single recorded case when as many as 50 per cent. of the eligible voters stayed away, and on the average 67 per cent. voted. In Tiflis, in 1927, 69 per cent. of the possible electors voted.

The number of people participating in the elections in Russia is shown in the following table prepared by A. Yenukidse, Chairman of the Central Electoral Commission and Secretary of the Central Executive Committee.

SOVIET ELECTIONS

	1926		1927	
	Urban	*Rural*	*Urban*	*Rural*
R. S. F. S. R.	48.5	47.3	55.4	47.4
Ukraine	62.7	54	57.9	52.5
Georgia	55.7	...	65.7	...
White Russia	...	46.5	...	46.6
Uzbekistan	...	45.7	...	66.2
Turkmenistan	...	36.8	...	38.7

On the average he claims 47.4 per cent. of the village electorate and 59.3 per cent. of the urban electorate voted in 1927 in Soviet Russia proper. In 1927, 63.3 per cent. of trade union members voted, and 76.7 per cent. of the Red Army.

In the city soviet there is usually one elected representative for every one or two hundred electors, depending on the size of the city. Where there are not enough workers in a factory to elect a single representative, several factories are joined together. It makes no difference whether they are making the same kind of product or not. The housewives, who do not work together in any one place, naturally vote by districts. In the factory elections and in other organizations, the Communist Party very frequently prepares a list of candidates. Oftentimes the trade union "active" also prepares a list. Where a list of candidates is prepared, it is often put on the wall a week in advance of the general election. When the election occurs, a representative of the Election Committee calls the meeting to order, and a list of candidates is read. The voting can be by the entire list at once, or by individual names. In nearly all cases that I have investigated it has been done by individual names. Sometimes an election lasts three or four hours. Each candidate's name is read, and then those who care to speak for or against him are heard. Voting is usually by upraised hand, although I was told by several city soviets that where a number of the electorate demanded secret ballots they were used. In Rostoff on the Don the chairman of the Election Committee told me that there were one or two instances of the secret ballot being used in 1921 and 1922. This was among a group of workers. He claimed that if as many as ten or fifteen people out of a group wished a secret vote they usually could have it. According to his view, however, there is not the same necessity for a secret ballot in Russia as in capitalistic countries —there is no pressure from any capitalistic interest having an economic stake in the result.

City and Gubernia Soviets

One of the most interesting things in the political mechanism of Russia is that of the provincial and city soviets. I made rather careful studies, so far as time would permit, of the city soviets in Moscow, Leningrad, Tiflis, Baku, and Rostoff. Let us consider as a concrete example the city soviet of Rostoff on the Don. In the Rostoff district the political mechanism ascends from the village to the rayon, okrug, krae, and finally to the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic. The city of Rostoff is subordinate to the okrug soviet. The population of the city of Rostoff is 233,491, while that of the province (okrug), which includes the city, is 1,122,000. In other words, there are about 900,000 people in the villages which embrace the provincial district. The provincial congress meets once a year, with about 800 delegates; of these the city sends 266, or roughly 33 per cent. The provincial congress elects an executive committee of fifty members which meets twice a month. Forty per cent. of its membership comes from the city. The executive committee in turn elects a presidium of fifteen members which meets once a week. About two-thirds of its membership come from the city. The chairman of the city soviet is also chairman of the provincial soviet. Thus, in spite of the fact that the city has a smaller representation in the congress, it controls the work of the soviet. The city sends to the provincial congress one deputy for every thousand voters, while the country districts send one deputy for every five thousand inhabitants. The chairman of the election committee told me that one voter in the country districts equals approximately 1.6 inhabitants. If this is true, the city proportionately gets about three times the representation of the country.

The city soviet is made up of 1,019 representatives, who meet once a month. Of this number, 874 are men, 172 are women, 640 are members of the Party, 40 are members of the Komsomols, 339 are non-Party. Two-thirds are workers and one-quarter office employees. The city soviet usually elects a presidium only, dispensing with an additional executive council. The presidium in Rostoff met once a week, and was composed of 31 members and candidates (candidates having a voice but no voting power). Of these, 21 were members of the Party. The work of this city soviet is divided into twelve sections: (1) Communal, having charge of institutions affecting the general life of the city, such as street cars, baths, electric lights, telephones, etc.; (2) Housing accommodations; (3) Financial Budget; (4) Industry; (5) Trade and Coöperatives; (6) Administrative Law, having charge of courts, police, etc.; (7) Health, having charge of the protection of the health of the workers, hospitals; (8) Labor and Social Welfare, having charge of social insurance, old-age homes, etc.; (9) Education; (10) Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, controlling the different departments of the government, checking their activity, trying to increase their efficiency, exposing corruption where it exists, and, in general, acting as an audit on all the acitvities of governmental institutions; (11) Military, having special relationship to the Red Army; (12) Transport.

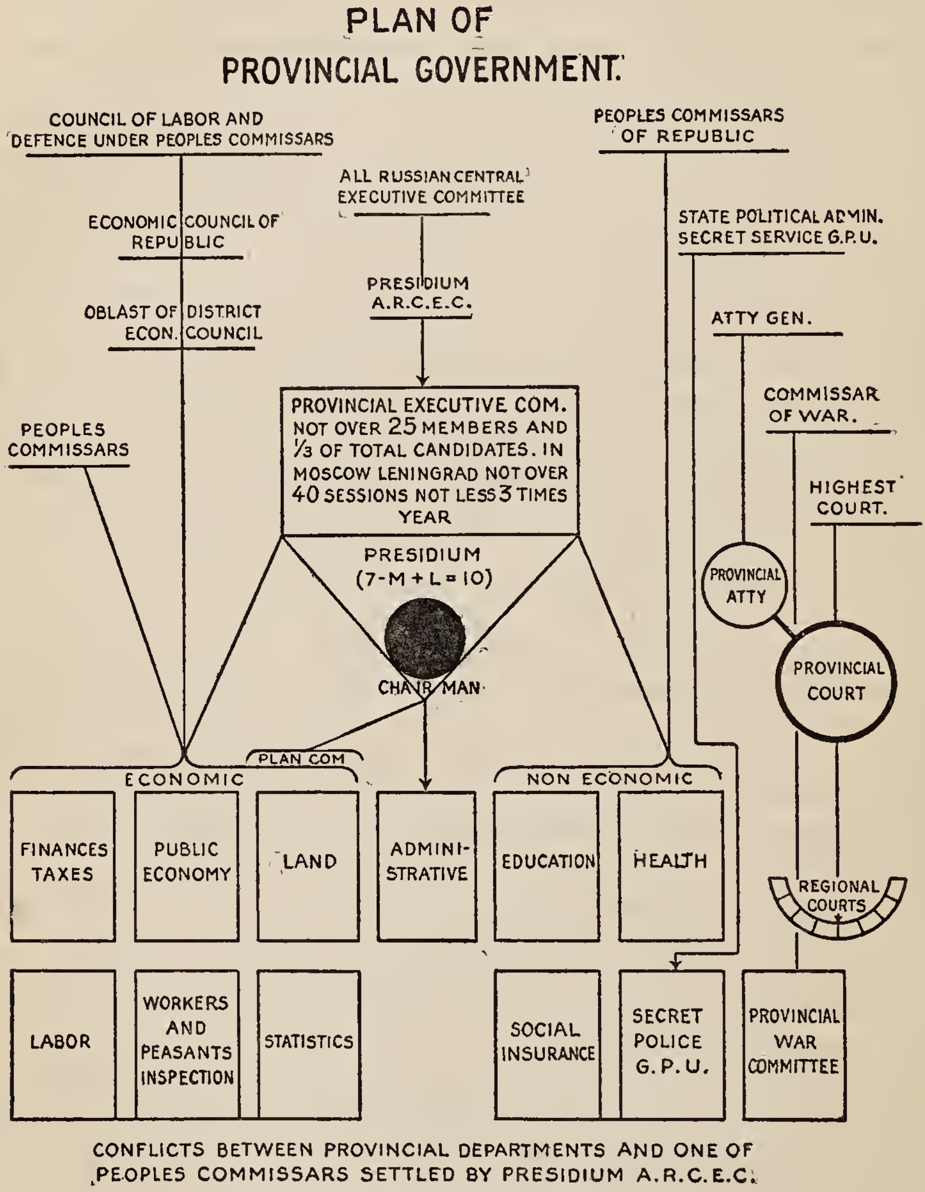
Every single member of the soviet is obligated to choose one section in which he cares to work. The result is that everyone has some definite work to do, and feels himself responsible for the welfare of certain institutions, whether they be hospitals, schools, factories or coöperatives. As a matter of fact, in Rostoff, the division between the membership of the various sections was almost equally divided, with the exception of the Culture Section, which had only 47 members. The rest varied from 88 in the Health Section to 115 in the Financial Budget. Each section elects a Bureau of a small number of delegates and a chairman, who give all their available time to the work of the section. The remaining members merely attend general meetings. While the frequency of these meetings varies, there were none which met less than once a month, and several met on an average of twice a month. In all the sections there were settled during this period a total of about five hundred questions. The heads of the various sections are usually members of the presidium of the city soviet. Anyone in the city who is interested in the work of a section is also permitted to attend its sessions, thus enabling all those who are really interested in governmental life to take part. In Rostoff the number of voluntary workers in the various sections exceeded fifteen thousand. In Moscow over fifty thousand participated. It can thus be seen that while the city soviet is quite different from American governmental institutions of the same character, it does secure more coöperative participation by the average citizen than does our American municipal government. In saying this, I do not refer to the opportunities for participation in elections on the part of those hostile to the Communists.

In spite of the privilege of choosing the particular section in which they are interested, a surprising number of members of the soviet are indifferent to the work. In Rostoff, for example, from March to the end of December, 1926, a period of ten months during which twelve meetings of the city soviet were held, 12 members of the soviet did not attend any session, 26 only one session, 36 two sessions, 65 three sessions, 67 four sessions, and 89 five sessions. In other words, 295 members of the soviet, or 31 per cent., attended half or less of the meetings of the soviet. Every six months, the members of the soviet have to report back to their constituents. Beginning in 1928 reports are made to the voters every three months, and the delegates can then be recalled. In Rostoff only twenty-four were excluded from membership in the soviet by the voters who elected them during the past half-year. In Tiflis during 1927 fifteen were excluded for being too "passive," as non-interest in the governmental work is termed. In Baku since the last elections in May, 1926, out of a membership of 1,500 in the city soviet, forty were recalled by their electorates. Considering the fact that representation is largely made up of workers who have had little or no education or experience in administrative affairs, perhaps this is not strange. For example, taking the entire membership of the city soviet of Rostoff, only 5.4 per cent. had finished the university, 15.7 had finished the middle school, although 71.9 per cent. had finished the lowest school. Six and seven-tenths per cent. are listed as being "somewhat illiterate."

During the period from March to December, 1926, there were forty-six meetings of the Rostoff Presidium. Thirty-two per cent. of all the questions considered concerned communal and housing problems, 14 per cent. finance, 10 per cent. culture and social welfare questions, and 8.5 per cent. trade and industry.

The budget for the city of Rostoff for 1926-27 shows a total expenditure of about $5,850,000, the greatest amount going to communal economic institutions. It is interesting to note that education consumed over 5.2 per cent. of the entire budget.

The plan of a typical provincial soviet is shown on the accompanying diagram (B). It can there be seen that the various departments are closely related to the national government. For example, the G. P. U., or secret police, works under the Provincial Executive Committee, but its head is either appointed or confirmed by Moscow. Each Central Executive Committee elects a presidium of seven, usually composed of its most important officers. In Moscow and Leningrad there are more.



PLAN OF PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT.

COUNCIL OF LABOR AND DEFENCE UNDER PEOPLES COMMISSARS
ALL RUSSIAN CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
PEOPLES COMMISSARS OF REPUBLIC
ECONOMIC COUNCIL OF REPUBLIC
STATE POLITICAL ADMIN. SECRET SERVICE G.P.U.
PRESIDIUM A.R.C.E.C.
OBLAST OF DISTRICT ECON. COUNCIL
ATTY GEN.
COMMISSAR OF WAR.
PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE COM. NOT OVER 25 MEMBERS AND 1/3 OF TOTAL CANDIDATES. IN MOSCOW LENINGRAD NOT OVER 40 SESSIONS NOT LESS 3 TIMES YEAR
PEOPLES COMMISSARS
HIGHEST COURT.
PRESIDIUM (7-M+L=10)
PROVINCIAL ATTY
PROVINCIAL COURT
CHAIRMAN
PLAN COM
ECONOMIC
NON ECONOMIC
FINANCES TAXES
PUBLIC ECONOMY
LAND
ADMINISTRATIVE
EDUCATION
HEALTH
REGIONAL COURTS
LABOR
WORKERS AND PEASANTS INSPECTION
STATISTICS
SOCIAL INSURANCE
SECRET POLICE G.P.U.
PROVINCIAL WAR COMMITTEE

CONFLICTS BETWEEN PROVINCIAL DEPARTMENTS AND ONE OF PEOPLES COMMISSARS SETTLED BY PRESIDIUM A.R.C.E.C.

DIAGRAM B.

Village and County Soviets

Where there is one city which dominates the province, there is often little difference in personnel between the executive committee of the city and the provincial soviet; nevertheless the provincial soviet is in reality the directing center of all the soviets of the district. It has to supervise the special problems of the city, public utilities, industries, and higher education, in so far as they have significance for the entire province. When we pass to the next lower soviet, the county or rayon, we have the coördinating link between the policies of the gubernia and the village. The county soviet might thus be called the coördinator of soviet policy. It has different departments to carry out its functions. For instance, there is a department of finance which is responsible for the collection of all taxes to the gubernia. Again, the county might propose telephone connections between all the village soviets. The county has an agricultural department which sends out agricultural experts to teach the peasants. These experts usually have an agricultural museum, keep bulls and stallions, and provide farm literature something like a county farm agent in the United States. Their purpose it to help the peasant increase his efficiency. Each county also has a school department which endeavors to carry out the educational policy of the provincial soviet. When a local school is weak the county tries to strengthen it. Teachers are also appointed for all the local schools. If there are homeless children in the district the county must assume responsibility. Similarly, the county soviet has a health department which supervises the hospitals and doctors of the districts. It must also inspect day nurseries. A cultural department looks after the establishment of reading rooms and clubs in the villages. When a village is weak in its cultural activity this work is promoted by the county. The county soviet thus becomes the agent for helping to translate policies from above into the life of the village.

Perhaps, however, the most important soviet as far as the average peasant is concerned is that of the village. It is run along lines similar to the town meeting in the United States. The villages are united in a township of villages, or volost, and the township soviet has various sections on which different peasants must work. For instance, in Maslov Kut in southern Russia, there are sections on education, collection of taxes, land, roads and bridges, cultural work, and poor peasants.

Taxes are naturally of primary concern to the peasant. To collect the taxes a comittee is appointed. In the village of Maslov Kut there are twenty people on this committee, none of whom is paid for the work. They assess each individual in the village according to the requirements of the law. Since everyone knows everyone else it is relatively easy to levy the taxes equitably. Nevertheless the secretary of the soviet has to sit regularly at night to listen to the objections of those who think they have been unfairly dealt with. All things considered, service on the tax committee is not popular and there is usually an annual rotation of office.

The matter of land distribution is wholly determined by the local soviets. Its allocation and distribution is a serious and controversial problem which demands a great deal of attention. In the matter of schools, the local soviets must get money for the teacher, who is sent down from the next higher soviet. The building which is used for educational purposes must also be provided and equipped by the local soviet. The soviet also has power to excuse men from serving in the army for economic or social reasons. The cultural work of the village soviet is considerable. There are literary, agricultural and dramatic circles, besides lectures on how to improve agricultural methods, et cetera. Another important task of the local soviet is that of helping poor peasants. This work is entrusted to a "poor peasant committee." It may give them a special plot of land, or provide free seeds for them. If a widow is too old to cultivate the land heself, she may apply to the poor peasant committee for help. The committee may also request that grain be ground for the poorer peasants.

The village soviets do not meet very regularly, and according to a government report for June 30, 1927, out of 3,247 village soviets, in a half year there were only 11,247 meetings, or on an average of 3.4 meetings for each village soviet. The village soviet is supposed to have sectional meetings covering various local problems such as education, taxation and so on. But according to information from the same source, out of 9,535 sections of village soviets in various districts of Russia, for the first half of 1927 there were only 4,551 meetings, or an average of .4 of 1 per cent. meeting for each section. In spite of the fact that meetings of the soviet do not come very often, there is an average attendance of but 55 per cent.

The difference in function between the village soviet and that of the county is that the village is dealing directly with the individual peasant whereas the county soviet is dealing through the medium of all the village soviets sending orders down from above. Take the matter of taxes. The taxes are collected by the village soviet and then must be turned over to the county soviet. If the taxes of a village fall below the norm expected, the county soviet would want to know the reason why. The difference in function is picturesquely illustrated by the fact that the county soviet can boast a typewriter and the village needs none.

Organization of the G. P. U.

The G. P. U. (State Political Department) acts as the secret service department, working against counter-revolution and economic espionage. In the early days of the revolution, in order to combat counter-revolution, speculation, and sabotage, an Extraordinary Commission (Cheka) was formed under the all-Russian Central Executive Committee. This Checka however was abolished in 1922 and in its stead was created the United State Political Department, popularly known as the G. P. U. Under the new Constitution of the U. S. S. R., adopted in 1923, the G. P. U. is attached to the Council of People's Commissars of the Union and the chairman of the G. P. U. is a member of the Council, having an advisory vote. Supervision of the legality of the acts of the G. P. U. is carried out by the procuror of the U. S. S. R. on the basis of special resolutions adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Union. In practice of the G. P. U. is probably very closely allied to the Central Committee of the Party. Stalin describes its function as "the punitive organ of the soviet power, resembling the Comité du Salut Publique of the French Revolution. It represents something like a military-political tribunal, constituted to protect the revolution against the assaults of the counter-revolutionary bourgeoisie and its agents." The purposes for which it was organized can best be understood by considering the following six divisions of its official activity:

(1) Foreign Section, which covers the work of running down counter-revolution and economic conspiracy abroad. (2) Economic Section, dealing with economic sabotage and economic espionage. (3) Transport Section, which serves to protect the railways and steamship lines. (4) Military Section, which deals with attempts at counter-revolution within the Red Army. (5) The Secret Section, which deals with any hostile political organization within the Union. (6) Operative Section, which works out a general policy to be followed in all the sections of the G. P. U.

The G. P. U. has a separate armed force of its own and has the right to try certain cases itself. Many believe that it has imprisoned men needlessly for political offenses and that it was not necessary to inflict capital punishment on such a large scale during the civil war. It must be remembered, however, that reliable English testimony points to the fact that even more were murdered by White officers in Finland than by Red. Terror is equally wrong whether White or Red. When one realizes that claimants to the Russian throne are still making inflammatory speeches in Europe, and that the author was told by a church dignitary within one week after his arrival in Russia in 1927 that there must be some time another revolution, it can readily be understood why such a secret service organization still exists. It is also true that many of the Russian people have, as a whole, not yet learned to be honest, having been educated in a system of corruption and bribery under the Czar. The G. P. U. acts as a very effective check against such activities. As will be seen later, it is much more strict with dishonest party members than with out-and-out opponents. . . .

All activities of the G. P. U. are under the control of the Central Executive Committee of the U. S. S. R. The G. P. U. has the right to arrest anyone, but within forty-eight hours it must notify the special attorney general (procuror) of the Supreme Court. It has to keep him notified at every point of what is done. It must try the case within one month or secure permission for further extension of time.

According to Menjinski, its head, the G. P. U. can try a case in two ways. One is by an administrative process, where it is entirely in the hands of the officials of the G. P. U. itself, except that the special attorney general must always be present when final consideration of the case is being made. Under an administrative process the G. P. U. has the right only of imprisonment for three years. The accused can always appeal to the Central Executive Committee against the decision of the G. P. U.

The second process is that of the Tribunal Court of the G. P. U. Here the case must be considered by the Collegium, or leading executive officials of the G. P. U. and the death penalty can be imposed in some cases. In either case the procurer must be present when the case comes up for decision. He is there to protect the prisoner and see that the G. P. U. does not imprison him unjustly. In some cases the decision of the G. P. U. is overruled by the procuror and the All-Union Central Executive Committee of the government. The prisoner, his friends or relatives, have the right to appeal to the Persidium of the Central Executive Committee on behalf of the case. A mere telephone message to this body constitutes an appeal. The prisoner also has the right to appeal a second time for clemency to the Central Executive Committee. There is a special committee of Amnesty which handles these cases.

The G. P. U. claims it does not arrest an individual until it has the evidence against him pretty well established. The old intellectual classes do not feel that this is true in their case. If a trial is carried on outside the regular courts by the G. P. U., the accused has no right to be represented by a lawyer of his own choice nor can he call his own witnesses. His only protection is that of the procuror. If the Central Executive Committee has already reviewed the case prior to his arrest or after his arrest, there is scant hope for clemency. In the case of the twenty-two who were shot in 1927, the head of the G. P. U. told us that none of them appealed against the decision of the G. P. U.

A local agency of the G. P. U. has no right to decide a case finally, it must be decided by the central authority. In the Ukraine and in the Trans-Caucasus the G. P. U. has somewhat more power, but in these districts there is a representative from Moscow on the ground. In the Trans-Caucasus and in the Ukraine they have their own Codex of laws which the G. P. U. must observe, but which are almost identical with those in Russia proper.

From 1922-27, 1,500 were executed by the G. P. U., or an average of 300 per year. The head of the G. P. U. feels that this is a very small number considering the many thousands of counter-revolutionists who are even to-day working against the Soviet power throughout the world.

The head of the G. P. U. assured us: "Not a single Socialist has been executed, not even the social revolutionist who tried to kill Lenin. Mensheviks who fought against the Bolsheviks were never executed. However, Monarchists and White Guards elements who were caught doing espionage and counter-revolutionary work were shot." His statement seems a bit inaccurate since Dora Kaplan who tried to kill Lenin in 1918 was executed, and there have been others since.

The G. P. U. is very frankly an agency of class justice. Not so many cases have apparently been found where injustice has been done to the workers and peasants. Knowing the mistakes of the United States Department of Justice during and after the World War one can readily understand how injustice can occur in Russia. As a matter of fact, after the war, in the United States the government issued warrants to arrest 6,500 aliens, an overwhelming proportion of whom were entirely innocent. Such an eminent authority as former Secretary of State Hughes has said that this action "savored of the worst practices of tyranny." When one considers that Russia has been passing through a world war, civil war, intervention by leading capitalist nations, that even as late as 1927 diplomatic relations with England were severed after violation of the diplomatic rights of the official representative of Russia, on the part of Great Britain, one can understand something of the nervous tension of Russian officialdom. Further, during 1927 the Russian minister to Poland was shot in Warsaw, and as late as September another employee of the Russian government was attacked in the same city. There have been repeated attempted assassinations within Russia, plots to blow up the Kremlin and the G. P. U. headquarters, and bombs have actually been thrown into Communist meetings killing members of the Party. Under such conditions a war psychosis is inevitable. In the Tiflis prison we talked with stenographers who had worked with the Near East Relief, and had been arrested on suspicion of aiding foreigners. One of the Menshevik prisoners told us that they did not dare speak to us openly, because on a previous occasion when one of the prisoners had spoken to the Commandant of the prison about conditions he had been beaten by a representative of the G. P. U. afterwards. In the prison at Tiflis the G. P. U. first asked us not to talk with any prisoners on political matters, and finally, on our refusal to enter the prison under these conditions, permitted us to talk with the prisoners. The Commandant, however, refused to leave the room, when we were talking with the prisoners, except in one instance. All this is quite understandable in view of the war psychosis, but it probably indicates that mistakes are made by the G. P. U., and cruel injustice done. It is, however, fair to say that the ordinary peasants and workers do not seem to be terrorized. On the contrary, they felt quite free to criticize the government and the Party, and did so repeatedly to members of our delegation. Whereas the former aristocratic classes and those who sympathize with the White Guard Armies feel that they are living in a prison house, it is also true that those who are really doing work which the government feels to be useful and who are not criticizing the government or plotting against it, are unmolested. It must not be forgotten, however, that the majority within the party uses the G. P. U. against the minority and hence to some extent suppresses freedom even within the party.

Freedom of Movement

There is freedom of movement within Russia, although each individual must register and show his passport or other documents whenever he remains longer than a day in any locality. It is also true that political opponents of the government are now from time to time exiled to Siberia or Turkestan.

Control of the Press and Publications

There is a monopoly of party legality for one party only, that of the Communist. Freedom of criticism is permitted by individuals within existing organizations such as the soviets, trade unions and the party, but no organized criticism, except through these channels, is tolerated. Even within the party there is a rigid discipline. In theory an individual is free to criticize within the party ranks until a decision has been reached by the central committee of the party. After that he must not criticize but spend all his energies in carrying out the decision. In practice, as in all countries, it is safer to be on the side of the majority. To criticize a prominent representative of the party may mean that one will be placed in the position of having advocated a policy which is later decided to be wrong by the majority. This might then be used against the individual.

The Glavlit (the Chief Department of Literature and Publications), a branch of the People's Commissariat of Education, censors all books, pamphlets, periodicals and papers not controlled by the party or the government. The following organizations and institutions are free from censorship as far as the Glavlit is concerned: (1) The Communist International; (2) the Central Committee of the Party; (3) the Government Publishing Department; (4) Department for Political Education; (5) Central Executive Committee of the Government; (6) Academy of Science.

The Russian law lists the following kinds of writing which should be prohibited: (1) agitation against the Soviet Power; (2) articles relating to military secrets; (3) the circulation of false rumors; (4) nationalistic and religious fanaticism; (5) pornographia (extreme bitterness toward opponents, obscenity, unwise treatment of sex questions).

It is obvious that there can be considerable difference of opinion as to the precise meaning of the term "religious fanaticism" or indeed almost any of the items listed.

The assistant head of the Department stated that while they try to keep government secrets out of the papers, they are not always successful. There is no censorship for newspapers (practically all are controlled by the party) but after publication a copy has to be sent to the Department to see that nothing illegal has been printed. In spite of this, the assistant chairman of the Department said they had to keep warning the official government paper as well as the official Communist paper because they were giving away military secrets. For example, he claimed that from the *Pravda* it would be possible to get a very clear idea of the distribution of the military factories. All party publications other than newspapers have to be censored in advance. There are in Russia roughly 1,200 periodicals, most of which are censored.

In 1926 the Department examined 25,765 books and 68,982 individual numbers of newspapers and circulars. When something is found which seems illegal, both the author and the publisher are notified. The matter is not deleted at once. The author is simply requested to work over his material. If he refuses to do this, publication is stopped. No statistics are available of the number of actual prohibitions. In the central department of the censorship there are 86 people, 35 handling the technical apparatus, and 51 having to read books and periodicals. In addition to the staff of the central department they have one representative in each gubernia, so that there is a total of about four hundred people throughout the Union. In Russia the exact number of censors is as follows: 32 in gubernias, 25 in okrugs, 7 in oblasts, 10 in autonomous republics, 3 in krai, and 219 in uyezds, making a total of 296. In the Ukraine there are only 15 censors for 41 okrugs.

In spite of the very effective censorship, publication of newspapers, periodicals, and books has grown astonishingly since the revolution. In 1913 there were 1,020 newspapers with a total circulation of 2,000,000. Now there are 700 newspapers with a total circulation of 8,000,000, nearly all under the editorship of Communists. Under the Czar there was a much larger area and a population of perhaps 180,000,000 people. Now with the loss of Poland, Latvia, Esthonia, and Finland, there is only a population of 146,000,000. Thus under the Czar there was one paper for every 90 persons, whereas now there is approximately one paper for every 18 persons. Under the Czar in 1912 in the present territory of the Union only 28,600 books were issued, whereas during the past year 38,565 books have been published.

Letters, telegrams and printed matter from abroad are censored whenever necessary in the post-office. As a matter of fact, most letters are not opened. All wires of foreign newspaper correspondents are read and if there seems to be some inaccuracy the censor usually telephones to the correspondent involved, asking him if he would be willing to change his message. Very few cables are held up except in this way.

The Right of Assemblage

Public meetings (except party, trade union and governmental) cannot be held without permission; even then speakers who stimulate opposition against the government may be arrested. It is almost impossible in the cities to get public buildings for meetings on subjects which are out of harmony with the policy of the government or the party. Actually, however, most workers and peasants can meet and voice grievances through their soviet or trade union.

The churches are open and have full freedom of holding religious services. Organized religious instruction for children under eighteen is prohibited. It is true that many priests have been arrested in the past, but according to the testimony of American religious workers, most of those arrested were actually doing something hostile to the Soviet government. The church is prohibited from making obligatory assessments on members, but this does not prevent voluntary contributions. This tends to weaken any central organization unless it trains its constituency to contribute voluntarily. The school is separated from the church. The law reads:

> "Teaching of religious doctrines is not permitted in any state or public as well as private educational institution where general subjects are taught. Students can teach and learn religion privately. Teaching of religious doctrines to persons not of age and to minors in state or private educational institutions and in schools is punished by forced labor of not more than a year."

Anyone who belongs to the ranks of the clergy is forbidden to fill any position in the schools. This legislation as well as the confiscation of church treasures in the famine of 1921 was rigidly enforced, and where it was disobeyed the government took severe measures, even going so far as to execute certain religious leaders who spoke openly against the government. In general organized religious instruction for children under 18 years of age is prohibited, although the Mohammedans and some of the sectarians have secured the privilege of organizing Sunday Schools for children from 14 years of age and up.

In regard to the pacifists, the Soviet government exempts them from active military service, provided they substitute hospital or other service. In practice, however, the court tries to determine whether the individual was a pacifist prior to the revolution, that is, whether he or his parents belonged to a sect opposing war. In the absence of such mitigating circumstances the conscientious objector is likely to be imprisoned now. This action is taken because the courts found that many individuals who had been quite willing to serve in the White Army were now unwilling to serve in the Red Army and claimed exemption on the ground of religious conviction. Actually, however, the ruling causes injustice to those who have become sincere pacifists since the revolution.

There can be little question that the church in Russia to-day is one of the freest platforms for the expression of opinion which exists in the country. Most of the priests are not educated sufficiently to take full advantage of this opportunity.

Right of Association

Any group of individuals can associate together in any organization so long as it does not oppose the principles of the Soviet government, but they must secure permits to exist. Usually, coöperatives, trade unions, mutual aid societies, welfare organizations, clubs and athletic circles are given the utmost encouragement by the government. In cases where the government becomes suspicious that certain organizations are being used as centers for counter-revolutionary activity, steps are taken to arrest the leaders or stop their work. This has been done in the case of the Boy Scout organization. Since the Bolshevik government maintains an organization very similar in scope to that of the Boy Scouts, those who joined the Scout organization may have been opposed to the government. In general, there is freedom for the workers and peasants who organize for non-political action. But it is not so easy for the members of the former intellectual classes to have their own organizations. . . .

2. THE COMMUNIST PARTY[13]

Structure of the Party

The structure of the party is highly centralized. Starting with the nucleus (cell) in the village, factory, or organization wherever there are three or more members, it leads by an ascending stairway of party organizations to the directive center or Political Bureau.

Lenin tried to form a strong union of all the parts and executive agencies of the party in one center, but along with this to have a democratic structure. The party staff has to be so constructed that in all its branches from the lowest to the highest it will be elective. As in the case of the government elective mechanism there is a pyramidal structure. The cells from several villages elect and send their delegates to the county congress which in turn elects its delegates to the gubernia (provincial) congress. The various gubernia and okrug congresses from all over the country send their delegates to the All-Russian Congress.

The All-Russian Congress is the highest authority in the party. It usually meets once a year with representatives from provincial or okrug organizations. There were 673 voting delegates and 642 candidates who had the right of the floor at the Fourteenth Party Congress. Extraordinary congresses may be called at the initiative of the central committee, or on the demand of one-third of the membership. The congress elects a central committee which is now composed of 71 members and 50 candidates (it is constantly enlarging). This meets every two months and corresponds to the party caucus of our American Congress. The congress also elects a Central Control Commission which, following the Fifteenth Party Congress, was increased to 195 members, all of whom must be of at least ten years' party standing. This body, which meets every three months, in turn elects a presidium of 21 members and 9 candidates who have authority when the full Commission is not in session. The Control Commission is the supreme disciplinary body and has the right to send its representatives to any party meeting throughout Russia. Except for the Congress, it is the court of final resort on questions of expulsion of members. Every provincial party has its Control Commission, but their decisions, can be appealed to the Central Control Commission. The Party Congress also elects a Central Revision Commission of seven. It audits the finances and checks the speed and accuracy of the work in the party organs. The diagram of the party on the next page will help to make this structure clear.

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[13] By Jerome Davis. From *Soviet Russia in the Second Decade,* pp. 145-164. Some changes have been made to bring the material down to November, 1930.

The Central Committee, the Presidium of the Control Commission, and the Revision Commission jointly comprise what is called a "Plenum." This group elects the general secretary of the party, a Political Bureau of 9 members and 8 candidates, an organization bureau of 11 members and 5 candidates, and a secretariat of 6 members and 2 candidates. All the members of the secretariat are at present also members of the organization bureau and with Stalin, general secretary of the party, form a sort of interlocking directorate. The Plenum also elects the delegates of the party to the Third International as well as the editors of the party papers.

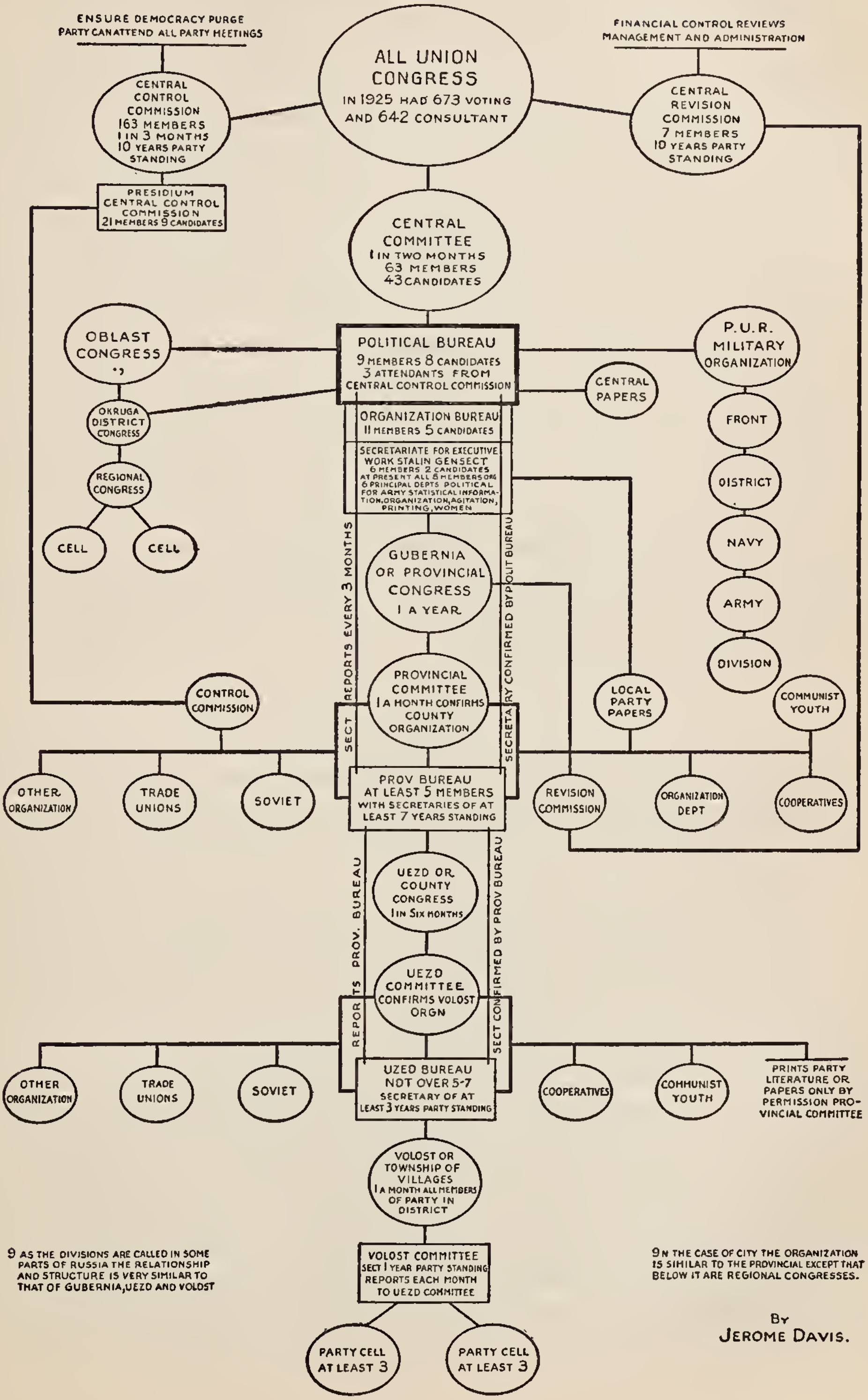
The Political Bureau has great power because it meets every week and is the highest authority between the bi-monthly sessions of the Central Committee. During this interval it can make any decision, which must be obeyed by party members. Similarly the action of the Central Committee is supreme until the Congress meets. Trotsky advocated that the Central Committee should not initiate but only follow the program laid down by the Congress. This view, however, has been repudiated by the party.

The Political Bureau and the Central Committee are powerful also because they plan the program of the Party Congresses. They officially report to the Congress and these reports are the starting points of the party debates. Where there are sharp differences within the Central Committee, both a majority and a minority report may be presented.

All these meetings are secret and none but elected delegates are privileged to attend. On the other hand, stenographic reports of the congresses are usually printed and sold publicly.

The secretary of the party is in a peculiarly strategic position since

STRUCTURE COMMUNIST PARTY


ENSURE DEMOCRACY PURGE PARTY CAN ATTEND ALL PARTY MEETINGS
CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION 163 MEMBERS 1 IN 3 MONTHS 10 YEARS PARTY STANDING
PRESIDIUM CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION 21 MEMBERS 9 CANDIDATES
ALL UNION CONGRESS IN 1925 HAD 673 VOTING AND 642 CONSULTANT
FINANCIAL CONTROL REVIEWS MANAGEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION
CENTRAL REVISION COMMISSION 7 MEMBERS 10 YEARS PARTY STANDING
CENTRAL COMMITTEE 1 IN TWO MONTHS 63 MEMBERS 43 CANDIDATES
OBLAST CONGRESS *9
POLITICAL BUREAU 9 MEMBERS 8 CANDIDATES 3 ATTENDANTS FROM CENTRAL CONTROL COMMISSION
P.U.R. MILITARY ORGANIZATION
CENTRAL PAPERS
OKRUGA DISTRICT CONGRESS
ORGANIZATION BUREAU 11 MEMBERS 5 CANDIDATES
SECRETARIATE FOR EXECUTIVE WORK STALIN GENSECT 6 MEMBERS 2 CANDIDATES AT PRESENT ALL 8 MEMBERS ORG 6 PRINCIPAL DEPTS POLITICAL FOR ARMY STATISTICAL INFORMATION, ORGANIZATION, AGITATION, PRINTING, WOMEN
FRONT
REGIONAL CONGRESS
DISTRICT
CELL
CELL
NAVY
GUBERNIA OR PROVINCIAL CONGRESS 1 A YEAR
REPORTS EVERY 3 MONTHS
SECRETARY CONFIRMED BY POLIT BUREAU
ARMY
DIVISION
CONTROL COMMISSION
PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE 1 A MONTH CONFIRMS COUNTY ORGANIZATION
SECT
SECRETARY
LOCAL PARTY PAPERS
COMMUNIST YOUTH
OTHER ORGANIZATION
TRADE UNIONS
SOVIET
PROV BUREAU AT LEAST 5 MEMBERS WITH SECRETARIES OF AT LEAST 7 YEARS STANDING
REVISION COMMISSION
ORGANIZATION DEPT
COOPERATIVES
UEZD OR COUNTY CONGRESS 1 IN SIX MONTHS
REPORTS PROV. BUREAU
SECT CONFIRMED BY PROV BUREAU
UEZD COMMITTEE CONFIRMS VOLOST ORGN
OTHER ORGANIZATION
TRADE UNIONS
SOVIET
UZED BUREAU NOT OVER 5-7 SECRETARY OF AT LEAST 3 YEARS PARTY STANDING
COOPERATIVES
COMMUNIST YOUTH
PRINTS PARTY LITERATURE OR PAPERS ONLY BY PERMISSION PROVINCIAL COMMITTEE
VOLOST OR TOWNSHIP OF VILLAGES 1 A MONTH ALL MEMBERS OF PARTY IN DISTRICT
VOLOST COMMITTEE SECT 1 YEAR PARTY STANDING REPORTS EACH MONTH TO UEZD COMMITTEE
PARTY CELL AT LEAST 3
PARTY CELL AT LEAST 3

9 AS THE DIVISIONS ARE CALLED IN SOME PARTS OF RUSSIA THE RELATIONSHIP AND STRUCTURE IS VERY SIMILAR TO THAT OF GUBERNIA, UEZD AND VOLOST

9N THE CASE OF CITY THE ORGANIZATION IS SIMILAR TO THE PROVINCIAL EXCEPT THAT BELOW IT ARE REGIONAL CONGRESSES.

BY
JEROME DAVIS.

quite generally the paid party workers throughout the country look to him as their chief. He is in constant touch with the party organizations throughout the country and can reward his supporters and penalize his enemies. The Secretariat and Organization Bureau are virtually working under his direction.

Beside the Congresses there are party conferences which meet in the interim between congresses. These can discuss party problems but do not elect a new Central Committee or Control Committee.

While all this make for centralization, it also makes it easy to refer most questions to the rank and file for decision. Before and after every congress there is a thorough debate leading down into every cell in Russia. In fact, the purpose of each of these cells as given in the party constitution is to help spread among the masses the fundamental party ideas and decisions; to secure and train new members to work with the local committee in organizational and agitational activity, and finally to share with the party organization in the economic and political life of the country. The secretary of the cell must have been a member of the party for at least one year and have the sanction of the regional committee. Consequently new proposals and decisions can be sounded out in thousands of these cells all over the country. The reactions of the ordinary party members are then reported back to the center. The result is a mechanism which the Bolsheviks proudly call "democratic centralism." It unites mass feeling with a highly centralized leadership.

The Party Apparatus

One of the most interesting and important offices in Moscow is that of the Central Committee of the Party. This building houses all the secretaries and divisions of the executive work, not only of the party, but also of the Communist Youth Organization. It is guarded day and night. No one may enter without permission, which is secured from a special bureau in the rear of the building. Except in the case of well-known Communists verification is made by telephone to the person to be interviewed before the "propusk," or entry order, is issued.

Comparatively little is known in the United States of the activities of this organization which in effect directs the work of the huge party apparatus. As we have noted, under the Central Committee there is a Political Bureau which has under it an Organization Bureau and a Secretariat. The Political Bureau discusses only the most vital questions of party policy, the Organization Bureau handles the next most important political and organizational questions, while the Secretariat takes others of less moment. These last two are the executive organs of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau. The Secretariat alone employs a technical staff of about 120 workers.

The Organization Bureau has 125 paid workers. It manages and instructs the local party organizations. To it come for advice and help members of the national and provincial party organizations. In each province a special group is selected to report back to the organization bureau on how the party is functioning. When necessary, workers are sent down from above to investigate. The provincial party committee also has an organization department which is in close touch with the national bureau. The general policy regarding the proportion of workers to be accepted into the party while adopted by the Party Congress, is put into practical effect with the assistance of the organization bureau. In general the present policy is to get as many new members as possible provided they are of good quality and high standards are maintained. In the early days in certain villages where there were not enough party members in the volost (township) some were sent in from outside. This is now rarely necessary.

The Agitation and Propaganda Department has a staff of about sixty in the Central Committee and the *Communist Revolution* is its official organ. Nearly every provincial Agitation and Propaganda Department has a similar publication. In large measure this department does not write articles. *Agitation* is defined as meaning a few ideas for the many, whereas *propaganda* is many ideas for the few. It directs the masses in campaigns along the lines decided by the party. It is also charged with the systematic political education of party members. Courses in party politics are compulsory for all, but nearly all members are so eager for party instruction that actually the work is carried on voluntarily. The discussion method is largely followed. Every party organization down as far as the township has its local "political grammar school." Where there is no adequate local school, "moving" schools are sent in by the provincial committee. The lowest party course is called the "School of the First Stair," the second, the "School of the Second Stair," and the third, the "Marxian-Lenin Circle."

Other important and separate departments of the party are those devoted to women, statistics, information, history, press, and finance.

The finances of the party come from the taxes on the members, which range from one-half of 1 per cent. to 3 per cent., depending on their salary, with special assessments in addition, besides a tax of approximately 40 per cent. on incomes over $112.50. No fixed proportion of this is kept by any one group in the party organization; it depends on the need. Usually about 10 per cent. of the dues are kept for use by the cells, 25 per cent. for the county committees, 15 per cent. for the gubernia or provincial committees, while 15 per cent. reaches the Central Committee. If we were to make a rough estimate and assume the average pay of a party member is $600 a year and the average tax 2 per cent., this makes a total tax considering the present membership of nearly $14,000,000 annually.

There are 24,000 paid party workers through out Russia. With this machine it is possible to go far in guiding the political life of the nation; especially when one considers that in addition there is legality for the Communist Party alone.

Membership

On May 1, 1927, the party had 1,210,954 members and candidates. Of this number 379,586 were candidates, and the total number of women was 145,486, or just over 10 per cent.[14]

Following the death of Lenin on January 21, 1924, the party increased its membership from 440,000 to 741,000 in 1924, or a growth of 63.6 per cent. By 1925 there was a further increase of 39.7 per cent., and in 1926 of 12.3 per cent. The percentage of increase for 1926 is somewhat greater in the villages and in the various national republics than it is for the Soviet Union as a whole.

Of necessity the party of 1930 or later is not, therefore, the party of even 1922. That year only 28.3 per cent. of the membership had entered the party later than 1919. In 1926, however, over 85 per cent. had entered since 1924. This means that they had not suffered for the party and their convictions under the Czar's régime. According to the occupational representation of the party in 1917, 60.2 per cent. were workers, 32.2 per cent. office workers and the like, and 7.6 peasants.

The percentage of workers had dropped to 31 per cent. by 1921, but owing to strong measures taken by the party since that time, it has now increased to 62.2 per cent., while the number of peasants has increased to 19.9 per cent.

The straight Russian part of the party is in complete command of the situation, since over 71 per cent. are straight Russian. Of the rest, 6.3 per cent. are Ukrainian, 5.3 per cent. Caucasian, while the Jews, who in many parts of Europe are considered to have commanding influence, only number 4.9 per cent.

On January 1, 1927, there were 33,177 Communist cells. Of these, just over 24,300 were in Russia, 4,400 in the Ukraine, 1,100 in White Russia, 2,300 in the Caucasian Republics, 660 in Uzbekistan, and 308 in Turkmenistan. Of the total, 53.4 per cent. were in the villages, 18.4 per cent. in the factories, 17.5 per cent. in government and other offices, 1.9 per cent. in the military organizations, and the rest scattered in various minor organizations. In 1926, of the delegates to various Communist Party congresses 99,000 were workers, 34,000 office employees, while 321,500 were peasants.

The Communists are extremely careful as to who may join them. They are in reality much more rigorous in their demands than are most religious sects. The constitution says that "everyone who accepts the program of the party, works in one of its organizations, obeys the rules of the party and pays the membership dues" is a member. It is not quite so easy as it sounds, however, to gain this privilege. Candidates are divided into three categories: (a) workers (who belong to a special perferred class), and those in the Red Army who come from the peasant or laboring class; (b) peasants who do not employ hired labor; (c) all others. In order to be accepted into the party, workers have to secure the recommendation of two party members of one year's standing and serve as candidates at least six months; those in the Red Army have to secure letters of recommendation from two party members of two years' standing and serve as candidates for at least six months. Those in the second category have to secure three letters of recommendation from party members of two years' standing and serve as candidates at least one year. All those in the last category have to secure five letters from party members of five years' standing. Exclusion from the party is accomplished by a vote of the particular organization to which the individual belongs, but must be confirmed by the provincial Control Commission. At irregular intervals "cleansings" are carried out. On these occasions in many cases each member of the party has to appear before all the individuals in the organization in which he works, both party and non-party, and publicly state why he should not be excluded. In these periodic house cleanings thousands are often excluded.

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[14] On April 1, 1930, the membership was 1,852,000. This included 641,563 candidates.

There are also heavy voluntary duties imposed on all members and candidates. Each member must be an active worker. No mere outward adherence to a program will do. Indeed, many a laboring man has confided to me his unwillingness to join the party because he really could not spend the time required in voluntary activity.

There is another drawback: it means perpetual hardship or near-poverty. As a rule no member has a salary of more than $112.50 a month unless it be as compensation for published articles.[15] He must live in a proletarian way. Expensive clothes and bourgeois parties are taboo. At a moment's notice he must stand ready to be sent anywhere, to do anything. In case he fails in his duty, punishment is swift, certain, and drastic.

An examination of the records of expulsion of members and candidates from the party approved by the local Control Commissions showed that out of 470 expulsions in a year in 10 large districts in Russia, 173 individuals were excluded because of drink, or 34 per cent. The other chief reason for expulsion was the wrong use of money.

A considerable number also leave the party voluntarily. In 1923, for instance, those who were excluded for not attending party meetings, non-payment of dues, or for not fulfilling other party requirements, including also instances of those who left on account of family obligations, sickness, old age, or economic conditions, were 4.3 per cent. of all the members and candidates of the party. In 1924 the number was 1 per cent., in 1925 slightly over 1 per cent., and in 1926 it had risen to 1.97 per cent. Sixty-six per cent. of all those who left were mechanically excluded for not paying party dues, or for non-attendance at meetings, while 34 per cent. left because of personal reasons. In the first quarter of 1927, 4,984 voluntarily left the party, while there were in addition 3,520 who were expelled. For two years, 1926-28, some 93,000 members and candidates were called to account before the Control Commission of the party, although nowhere near as many were expelled.

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[15] There are some exceptions. For instance, technical experts may receive as high as $500 a month.

How It Controls the Government

On January 1, 1926, there were 7,315 worker's cells, of which 4,809 were in government factories, institutions and coöperative organizations, 1,860 in transportation, 163 in private factories and 483 in miscellaneous centers, while the villages had nearly twice as many, or 15,819. It is the business of these cells to direct the activity of the organizations in which they work is so far as they are able. Stalin has given a clear picture of how this control operates:

> "To all responsible positions in the Government the Communist Party tries to nominate its candidates, and in 95 out of 100 cases those candidates are elected. Naturally, these candidates will follow out the theories of Communism in which they believe, and the directions of the Party. Therefore a direct Communist leadership results.
>
> "The Communist Party after placing these members in responsible positions watches and sees how well they carry on their work in the interests of the working class, and where Party members have gone off the right track the Communist Party tries to discredit them and remove them from their positions. When this occurs there are other Communists who can carry on their work more in accordance with the interests of the working class.
>
> "When economic plans are being drawn up and questions of foreign policy or of other problems arise the Party tries to indicate certain policies to the bodies which deal with these problems. Policies are outlined, for instance, in industry, for the Supreme Council of National Economy, and through the members of the Party who are members of trade unions and coöperative bodies the policies are carried out. In agricultural and cultural development the Party also indicates certain policies and general outlines which it thinks should be followed. The Party as such does not attempt to participate in every decision which may be made along these lines. That would be physically impossible. The policies are carried through by the Communist members in the various organs. The Party also tries to check up to discover how these policies have worked out. Some of them may have been erroneous and then the Party tries to correct its own mistakes.
>
> "Here in Russia the Party openly admits that it does guide and give general direction to the government."

Actually since the Communists are the only party, there is no question but that their decision in favor of a new law will usually mean that it is adopted. The party congresses thus become more important than the Soviet congresses.

It is true that those of the younger generation who are politically minded tend to enter the Communist Party. Hence the membership includes possibly the ablest political leaders now in Russia. This is another reason why the higher positions in Russia are largely in the hands of Communists. How real this control is can be seen from the following figures:

In the Soviet organizations, the lower in the scale, the fewer Communists there are. Thus in the village Soviet 90.6 per cent. of the members are non-party. Of the chairmen of the village Soviets 79.9 per cent. are non-party. In the volost conferences, 76.5 per cent. of the members are non-party. In the executive committee of the volost only 47.2 per cent. are non-party. Of the chairmen of the volost committees only 12.3 per cent. are non-party.

In the All-Russian Central Executive Committee 222 belong to the party and 78 are non-party. In the management of the government trusts, on the first of July, 1925, in the metal industry, 70.7 per cent. were party members; in the textiles 74.4 per cent., in minerals 73.9 per cent., and in lumber 68.8 per cent. In the central apparatus of the Supreme Council of National Economy on the same date there were the following members of the party: Five out of six of the presidium, two general administrators, three out of seven assistants, and six out of fourteen heads of departments; but in the staff only 17 per cent. belonged to the party. On September 1, 1925, 49 per cent. of the executives on the railroad were Communists.

In the central apparatus of the Centrosoyus (Central Union Coöperative Society) on September 1, 1925, 34.9 per cent. were members of the party, while in the State Bank, on the first of July, 1925, there were only 9.3 per cent. In the People's Commissariat for Education, of 88,862 teachers only 2.5 per cent. were party members; 7.5 per cent. of the kindergarten workers, 10.2 per cent. of the staff in the children's homes, 7.1 per cent. of the staff of trade and technical institutions, and 23.9 per cent. of the librarians. In the local organizations of education, out of 1.063 responsible workers from 74 regions, 526 gubernias, 463 uyezds, 52.9 were party workers. This may be due to the fact that for the most part these workers are made up of those who have recently graduated from the universities. All in all it can be seen that the Communist Party has one of the most effective political organizations to be found in any country.

The Youth Organizations

The Communists have succeeded in effectively organizing the youth of Russia. The Komsomols, or All-Union Lenin Communistic Society of

Youth, unites all those from 16 to 23 years of age, who believe in Communist principles and subscribe to the rules of the organization. It started first as a Socialist Young People's Union in 1917 in Leningrad. The first conference took place in 1918. At that time there were only 22,000 members. Since then it has had an amazing growth which, including both candidates and members, runs as follows:

1919	96,000
1920	48,000
1921	400,000
1922	260,000
1923	303,000
1924	500,700
1925	1,140,706
1926	2,051,950
July 1, 1927	2,156,483
April 1, 1930	2,603,771

Of the last total, 70,409 were candidates. Virtually all young workers and peasants do not have to serve a probationary period as candidates, but the intellectual classes must serve as candidates for one and a half years. On July 1, 1927, the Komsomol membership was scattered in 67,943 different cells throughout Russia. Thirty-four per cent. of the members were factory workers, 8 per cent. hired hands working on the land, 47 per cent. peasants, 1.4 per cent. were workers in home industries and the rest miscellaneous. Since the Communist Party accepts some members who are under 23 years of age, approximately 7 or 8 per cent. of the Komsomols are also members or candidates of the party. A large proportion of the members of the Communist Youth Organization when they reach 23 are denied permission to join the party. The general secretary estimated that only 27 per cent. of those who apply are allowed to enter. The Komsomol organization is largely an educative organ to train the youth in Communistic ideas. Every member is expected to know the writings of Lenin, and to follow the principles and direction of the Communist Party. He must also be familiar with the entire history of socialism, including the writings of Marx and Engels, the program and history of the Communist Party and the Communist International. The constitution of the organization says that no one is a revolutionist who cannot do the hardest physical labor. "Every Komsomol must remember to execute the teaching of Lenin, that every act, no matter how small, if it only goes to help the laboring masses, is part of the great struggle for Communism."

The structural organization of the Komsomols is practically the same as that of the party. The National Congress is held once a year, and in 1927 had about 1,700 delegates. The Central Committee elected by this Congress is composed of 67 members, and meets every two or three months. It in turn elects a Bureau of 17, which meets weekly. The work of the Central Committee is divided into the following sections: First, Organization, which is divided into sub-sections of Statistics, Distribution, and Instructors; second, Agitation and Propaganda; third, Schools; fourth, Economics; fifth, Central Bureau of Young Pioneers; sixth, Printing. All together there are 64 paid workers in the Central Committee, and throughout Russia over 2,000. The number of volunteer workers, according to the official reports, is very much greater, running up into hundreds of thousands for the entire Union. The Department of Schools is concerned primarily with getting the youth to support and improve the local educational institutions. The Department of Economics aims to assist in protecting the young workers throughout Russia. The Central Organization prints one national paper, *Truth*, and nine journals. It also has one paper for the Pioneers. In addition to this, almost every local city branch of importance has its own publication.

About six years ago, the Komsomols organized a Pioneer Division composed of members from 10 to 16 years of age, which on December 7, 1927, had roughly 1,700,000 members. Shortly after the start of this movement the young Octoberists was formed composed of those below that age. It now has a membership of about 300,000.

The Opposition

There has always been opposition within the Communist ranks. In 1917, while Kerensky was in power, Zinoviev and Kamenev vigorously opposed taking the government by force. Later Spirodanova, a Left Socialist Revolutionist, broke with the Bolsheviks and participated in the plot to kill the German Ambassador rather than be a party to the Brest-Litovsk Treaty.

In 1921, following agrarian revolts, there developed two opposition groups within the party. One group, called "the workers' opposition," proposed that the nationalized industrial structure should be under an All-Russian Congress of Producers, virtually a central organ to administer the economic life of the republic. This syndicalist proposal was opposed by the majority on the ground that it would then control the Soviet apparatus and be more powerful than the party. Another group, headed by Trotsky, wished to turn the trade unions into State instruments or tools of the State power. Both proposals were defeated, but the Tenth Party Congress did go on record in a compromise resolution in favor of an increase of internal democracy, while opposing factions within the party. It declared: "Without any exceptions all groups joined on the basis of this or that platform were to be dissolved and the strictest measures were to be taken to prevent any manifestations by such minorities. The violation of this rule will bring immediate expulsion." The constitution of the party itself provides for complete freedom of discussion until a question has been decided by the party, but thereafter it demands endorsement and loyal support. In 1921 Shlyapnikov, a member of the Central Committee, undertook at a government meeting to criticize openly a decision of the party. Lenin proposed his expulsion from the Central Committee but could not secure a two-thirds majority.

In the fall of 1923 Trotsky presented a letter signed by forty-six comrades urging greater democracy within the party. The statement has never been published. Enough is known to show they believed that the Central Committee of the party must be a mere executive organ for carrying out the will of the national conference. Part of this opposition was no doubt aimed at Stalin's leadership. A demand for change of the party executive could most easily be masked under the flag of democracy. The death of Lenin early in 1924 and the illness of Trotsky silenced the opposition for a time.

One result of Trotsky's campaign, however, was that the party leaders led by Zinoviev and Kamenev became violent in their opposition to Trotsky and even shouted for his removal from every responsible position. He was forced to resign as War Commissar and Zinoviev vainly tried to secure his removal from the Central Committee. Very soon, however, Zinoviev and Kamenev themselves broke with the majority and in the Party Congress of 1925 were completely defeated. Thus Stalin emerged as the strongest man in the party and the real power in the country. Zinoviev and Kamenev, who had but recently called for the "blood of Trotsky," were now forced to accept his leadership and rallied to his defense. This resulted in the formation of a solid block of all who at any time opposed Stalin. It was like "a staff without an army." They had leaders aplenty, but no following.

What probably disturbed Trotsky and the opposition most deeply was the refusal of the majority to permit the publication of Lenin's last message to the party, frequently called his "Testament." It contained these significant words as we have already noted:

> "Comrade Stalin, having become general secretary, has concentrated an enormous power in his hands; and I am not sure that he always knows how to use that power with sufficient caution. On the other hand, Comrade Trotsky . . . is distinguished not only by his exceptional abilities—personally he is, to be sure, the most able man in the present Central Committee—but also by his too far-reaching self-confidence and a disposition to be too much attracted by the purely administrative side of affairs.
>
> "These two qualities of the two most able leaders of the present Central Committee might, quite innocently, lead to a split. . . .
>
> "Stalin is too rough, and this fault, entirely supportable in relations among us Communists, becomes insupportable in the office of general secretary. Therefore I propose to the comrades to find a way to remove Stalin from that position

and appoint to it another man who differs from Stalin—more patient, more loyal, more polite, and more attentive to comrades, less capricious, etc."

While this message was not published, it was read to the Central Commitee and to the Congress of the party. Both bodies voted against its publication. Shortly after the Thirteenth Congress in 1924 Stalin asked to be relieved of the general secretaryship but he was unanimously requested to remain by all the Central Committee including Trotsky and Zinoviev. Again, a year, later, he made the same request, but it was not granted. The opposition was not permitted to publish its proposals to the party, although the majority could subject Trotsky or anyone else to a violent attack.

Being denied a free chance to agitate, the opposition finally organized in 1926 a secret meeting in the woods. Their plan was to construct an illegal discussion apparatus within the party and with a platform of increasing wages and freeing the poor peasants from all taxation, unite the party masses on their side. In addition they proposed a quick rebuilding of the industrial life by raising the price of manufactured goods and increasing the tax levied on the wealthy peasants.

The majority charged that by such policies the opposition would turn Russia into a colonial land of "exploited" peasants. The real oppression would be the high cost of manufactured articles. "We must not deal with our peasants as England does with her colonies," they argued.

The chief leaders in the opposition ranks now frankly threw aside all the work given them by the government to use their strength against the majority. Every session of the Political Bureau was used as an occasion for factional speeches. These would often be printed and distributed later. A strict Communistic rule prohibits the discussion of any question once it has been decided by the Central Committee. Trotsky openly violated this rule.

In the face of an overwhelming hostile majority and facing the possibility of expulsion, the opposition on October 16, 1926, surrendered. They agreed categorically not to do any further factional work. The Central Committee, which met the same month, removed Trotsky and Kamenev from the Political Bureau and Zinoviev from the Communist International.

Once the Central Committee meeting was over, the minority began surreptitiously to print and circulate opposition statements. One of them was signed by 84 members of the party. Zinoviev on the 9th of May, 1927, shocked the "orthodox" by making a speech against the majority before a non-party meeting—a gross violation of Communistic ethics.

Soon afterwards the Central Committee sent Smilga, an opposition leader, to Siberia to head the work of industrial planning there. He felt that he was being exiled and delayed departure for a month. Finally, on threat of expulsion, he obeyed, but only after Trotsky had made a burning speech against Stalin before everyone assembled at the railroad station to bid Smilga adieu. This resulted in the Presidium of the Central Control Commission raising the question of excluding Trotsky and Zinoviev from the Central Committee. Hundreds of members of the opposition during this period were expelled from the party.

At the next meeting of the Central Committee in August 1927, Trotsky, Zinoviev and other opposition leaders were reduced to the ranks but were finally permitted to stay in the Central Committee when they signed a statement conceding that the way of a second party meant the death of the revolution. They agreed to abide by all the decisions of the party and its Central Committee. They adhered to their belief, however, that in time of war the party must not suppress criticism. They also agreed to liquidate all opposition blocs provided that in case of a perversion of the inner party régime they could continue to struggle for the right to present to the party their real attitude and opinion. The majority in its turn agreed to let the minority publish its platform in the government press a month and a half before the Fifteenth Party Congress. In spite of this declaration the opposition continued to agitate secretly against Stalin and the majority. To do this more effectively, in September they set up an illegal secret printing press so that they could broadcast their platform and the Last Testament of Lenin. In a speech to the Plenum of the party in October, Zinoviev threw down the gauntlet to the majority by saying, "Either let us speak to the party and in the party or arrest us all. There is no other choice." The result was that Trotsky and Zinoviev were expelled from the party itself. In commenting on this action Bukharin, editor of *Pravda,* said in the issue of November 15, 1927:

> "Unless the Soviet power remains one and indivisible, the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible. In attempting to divide the party or to form a second party, Trotsky and Zinoviev inevitably became the center of attraction of all the anti-Soviet forces. That is the fact of the case—no matter what they thought about their Marxist duty or historical mission."

It seems probable that this decision is supported by an overwhelming proportion of the party. It is claimed that not even a single party cell supports the opposition. Just before the Fifteenth Party Congress, which met on December 2, 1927, opposition leaders signed a declaration in which they reiterated their loyalty to the party and their willingness to abide by the decisions of the Congress, but stated that they could not change their beliefs and felt the party would in the end adopt their policies. This did not save them. Stalin, Bukharin, and the majority remained firmly in control. The minority had practically no following. Ninety-eight of the leaders of the minority were expelled from the party. These included such prominent men as Kamenev, Radek (the brilliant Bolshevik journalist), and Rakovsky (former Ambassador to France). The Congress formally declared that belonging to the Trotsky opposition, and propaganda in support of their ideas, made membership in the party impossible, and that the "Trotsky opposition actually had become a factor in the anti-Soviet struggle."

Trotsky himself was finally exiled abroad but the only country which was willing to receive him was Turkey. Since then a so-called "right" opposition developed, led by Bukharin, Rykov, Tomsky and others. Their platform in contradiction to that of Trotsky stood for more conservative policies and included:

1) greater opportunity for the kulak, or rich peasant
2) more individual opportunity for the peasant, less collectivization
3) greater production on the part of the industries which manufacture for popular consumption, less money for "heavy" industries such as coal, iron, steel and locomotives.

Early in this movement Bukharin was removed as editor of the *Pravda*, the official party paper, and Tomsky from the leadership of the trade unions. This "right" opposition, however, did not retaliate by using illegal party methods.

At the Sixteenth Party Congress which met at Moscow in July, 1930, Stalin emerged triumphant. He could have eliminated the opposition from the party. Instead he retained Premier Rykov in the Political Bureau and kept Tomsky and Bukharin on the Central Committee. It is another evidence of his power and his political sagacity.

The Communist International

At present there are 66 nations in the Communist Internationsl, 40 from Europe, 20 from the East, and the rest from North and South America. Each country has a Communist Party with a paid secretariat and an apparatus usually patterned after that of Russia. Where countries are closely associated they may form a central federated secretariat. This is true of Chili, Uruguay, Bolivia, and Colombia in South America; of Norway, Sweden and Denmark in Scandinavia; of Bulgaria, Roumania, Jugo-Slavia, and Greece in Balkans.

All the Communist parties send delegates to the Congresses of the Communist International, which is supposed to meet once a year. The various parties have voting rights in proportion to their paid-up membership.

The Third International met in its first Congress in Moscow in 1919 with 60 delegates. The adopted constitution[16] declared that the organization was working for the overthrow of Capitalism in every country and that the chief burden of the work in the Executive Committee would fall on the party where the Committee resides.

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[16] The constitution is printed in full on p. 82.

It can readily be seen that in practice, since the Russian Party contributes most of the money for the Communist International, she would have a preponderant voice in the decisions of the Executive Committee, although legally she could be out-voted by other countries.

The idea of a Communist International was not created by the Bolsheviks. It is the successor of the International Association of Workingmen founded in 1864 by Karl Marx, and a protest against the conservative tendencies of the Second Socialistic International founded in 1889.

For a time the the Third International Congress met annually but the sessions have lately been growing more infrequent. The Fourth Congress met in November, 1922, the Fifth Congress in June, 1924, and the Sixth Congress in the summer of 1928.

It is commonly thought that the Communist International advocates armed uprisings by an insignificant minority of the workers. Zinoviev, however, declares that they do not favor armed revolution unless a majority of the workers are behind the movement. Naturally there is no impartial index as to the attitude of the majority in a given situation.

It has been a principle of the Third International to extend help to those parties which are illegal. The American party was illegal for a time following the war and received some aid. Now that it is legal, Zinoviev declares that it no longer receives help from Moscow, but actually sends money from the United States to Moscow.

At the present time Communist parties are declared illegal in the countries of China and the East, the Balkans, Roumania, Finland, Latvia, Poland and Hungary.

There is a difference between the Communist International and the Soviet government. The former is made up of Communist Party representatives from all over the world, while the latter is composed of elected officials from the Soviet Union alone, who may or may not be Communists. In answer to the criticism that leading members of the Russian government are also leading members of the Communist International, the Russians retort that Ramsay MacDonald, when Prime Minister of England, was also secretary of the Second International.

There is little question that the Communist International is glad to help in revolutionary movements in China, India, and elsewhere. Actually the first National China Soviet Congress met in Shanghai on May 1, 1930, but the Communist Movement there is still relatively weak. The printed stenographic minutes of the full meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist International held in Moscow from November 22 to December 16, 1926, is entitled *The Way to World Revolution.* The amount of money spent by the Communist International in foreign countries has been grossly exaggerated. From British Government's reports we know that in 1925 the Communist International sent only $75,000 (£15,000) for all Great Britain, and that the year before it sent but $25,000.

The Bolshevik leaders claim that since the United States, England, France and Germany permit Communist parties to function, that they as a revolutionary government cannot be still more conservative and suppress the Communist International. Zinoviev asserted that the Third International can have success in foreign countries only to the extent that widespread injustice exists among the people. Apparently one safeguard against the "paid agents" from Moscow is to see to it that there is less injustice.

3. THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL [17]

In order that the official position of the Russian Government toward the Third International (Komintern) might be clear, the writer interviewed A. N. Mikoyan, the People's Commissar for Foreign and Domestic Trade, who is also a member of the all-powerful Political Bureau of the Communist Party. The questions and official answers follow herewith.

First Question: It is known that the Komintern is located in Moscow, that it is sending small amounts of money and sometimes agents of the Communist Party to other countries. It is the aim of the Communist parties of other countries to seize power by violence overthrowing the capitalist governments. Naturally, this is furthering the revolutionary movement in China, India, Germany and other countries. If the Soviet Government wants to be left alone, why does it not leave other countries alone? Why does the Soviet Government tolerate the existence of the Komintern in Moscow?

Answer: The Soviet Government must not be identified with the Komintern and I as a member of the government cannot speak in the name of the Komintern. The Communist International exists by itself, apart and independent from the Soviet Government. It is difficult to understand on what "principles of freedom and justice" the Komintern should not be permitted to remain in Moscow. The Komintern does not receive any financial aid from the Soviet Government. We have enforced the strictest laws against any kind of propaganda by agents of the Soviet Government in any country and anyone who would violate these rules would be discharged. Even the raid by the English Police on the Arcos and the Russian Trade Delegation in London proved the fact that neither the Trade Delegation nor Arcos is in any way connected with the Third International. It is true England claims to have found a certain list of names on one of the employees. We doubt whether this is true, but even if it were, it is purely a personal affair of that particular clerk and such an employee would be held strictly accountable. Even the English authorities had to confess that there was nothing else found on anybody. If anyone on the staff of the Soviet Delegation were found guilty of carrying on propaganda, he would be immediately discharged.

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[17] By Jerome Davis. Reprinted from the Editor's preface to Arnot, R. Page, *Soviet Russia and Her Neighbors* (New York, Vanguard Press, 1927).

In America today there exists the Amtorg Company which has in its staff some Soviet employees. It is said that you have in the United States a very experienced police force and there is nothing which can be hidden from it. If the employees of the Amtorg were engaged in propaganda, your police would have soon found it out. The fact that no one of the employees of the Amtorg has ever been accused of carrying on propaganda shows how false all such accusations are.

Some time ago the British Government made a protest against the transmission of money by the Russian Trade Unions to the striking English coal-miners. The Soviet Government cannot interfere when the workers or the people of the Soviet Union wish to collect and transmit money for kindred organizations abroad which are in need of money to carry on their fight for the betterment of their conditions. A similar collection was made in the United States, of course not to the same extent, but it did not occur to England to send any notes of protest to the American Government on this account. The only country to whom England sent a hostile note was the Soviet Union.

It is impossible for the Soviet Government to interfere in the mutual relations between the Komintern and the Communist parties of other countries. Communist parties exist in all countries. In a number of countries Communists carry on their work quite openly and without any interference, having their representatives in the Parliament; as, for instance, in Germany, England, France, Czecho-Slovakia, etc. It is therefore quite incomprehensible why the Soviet Government alone should place obstacles in the way of the activities of Communist organizations, when even the conservative bourgeois governments of various countries are compelled to tolerate the existence of legal Communist parties.

The Soviet Government is asked to exercise pressure upon the Communist organizations of other countries in order to limit their activities and their propaganda. In addition to the fact that the Komintern and the Communist organizations are not subordinated to the Soviet Government, such acts would actually mean interference in the internal affairs of foreign states. The Soviet Government which has not allowed heretofore and will not allow henceforth any interference in its internal affairs, is in general against the interference of one state in the internal affairs of another.

At the same time we cannot be induced to restrict our workers' organizations in expressions of sympathy or in assistance to Communists of other countries, just as the American Government could not keep their citizens from sympathizing with and helping, let us say, the Sinn Fein party in Ireland. I know, for instance, that a loan was obtained in America to help the Sinn Fein party and that the money was used for purchasing arms and ammunition. The Soviet Government has given no financial aid to the Komintern and the Communist parties of other countries. It is true, that some of the Soviet officials are at the same time members of the Komintern, but in this respect they do not differ from members of other governments. Mr. Vandervelde, Prime Minister of Belgium, is at the same time one of the leaders of the Second International. When he goes to the League of Nations, he appears there at one and the same time as head of the Second International and as Prime Minister of Belgium. Yet this does not raise objections from any one. We are in possession of proofs that some of the members of the Second International made attempts to organize a rebellion in Georgia, yet it did not occur to us to send notes to the Government of Belgium requesting them to stop the Second International from maintaining its offices in Belgium, or to prohibit members of their government from being members of the Second International.

In conclusion, I wish to refer to the fact that the Soviet Government in its notes to foreign powers has repeatedly emphasized the falsity of the assertion of identity between the Soviet Government and the Third International. I will cite, for instance, part of the official note of the Assistant People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs to the British Minister of Foreign Affairs of September 27, 1921:

> "The Russian Government wishes to take this opportunity of emphasizing once more, as it has repeatedly done before, that the Third International, for very obvious reasons, chose Russia as the headquarters for its Executive Committee, this being the only country giving full freedom for the spreading of communist ideas and also personal freedom to communists."

Second Question: Inasmuch as the Soviet Government and the Komintern are under the control of the Communist Party, is it not true that the policies of the Soviet Government and the Komintern will be identical?

Answer: This question is not quite clear to me. The Soviet Government is at the present time composed chiefly of members of the All-Union Communist Party, but the Soviet Government should by no means be identified either with the Communist Party or with the Komintern. The majority of the English Government are members of the Conservative Party, which, however, does not lead to the assertion that the British Government and the Conservative Party is the same thing. The same is true of your government, which is composed of members of the Republican Party, yet it acts quite separately from the Republican Party. It is also said that Soviet Officials, who belong to the Communist Party, are supporting by their membership dues the Communist Party and through the latter, the Komintern. I do not see that there is anything to this which should raise questions in any one's mind. I was told that Mr. Coolidge, President of the United States, is donating money for foreign missionaries. It is believed by many people that the foreign missionaries have provoked unrest in China and that in particular during the "Boxer" Rebellion, the Chinese tried to rid themselves of foreign missionaries. Even though Mr. Coolidge, or his Government officials have been financially helping Chinese missionaries, the American Government is by no means responsible for the deeds of missionaries, inasmuch as this financial aid was a private affair of the members of the American Government, and inasmuch as this subsidy was not expended from the funds of the United States Treasury. The same applies to the Soviet Government. Inasmuch as the Soviet Government has not been extending any financial aid to communist organizations from the State treasury, the Soviet Government cannot be held responsible for the actions of Communist organizations.

What I have said, I am sure, will convince you that America has been given false information about our policy. All the propaganda against the Komintern and its seeming connection with the Soviet Government is merely a pretext. Had the Communist International chosen another country for its headquarters, our enemies would surely have found some other pretext to hinder the building of a Socialist State in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Before closing, I want to remind you that at the Geneva Conference of 1927 the question of the possibilities of peaceful coöperation and the coexistence of the capitalist and the Socialist systems of national economy was discussed. The Conference, having fully and thoroughly analyzed this problem, decided:

> "Considering the importance of peaceful trade and the desirability of abstaining from politics, the Conference thinks the participation of members of all countries present—*irrespective of all the differences in their economic systems*—is a happy sign for future *peaceful trade relations* between all nations."

One of the best means to check all the falsehoods which are being spread against the Soviet Union by all its enemies, is the maintenance of direct contact between American business men and the Soviet Union, and their visiting our country, where they can see for themselves the vast possibilities for economic *rapprochement* between these two countries. This is especially true since there are no antagonistic interests and no direct causes for conflict involved.

The experience of many Americans, who have visited this country for business purposes, has shown that upon their return to America they gave up their former prejudices against the Soviet Union and, while they did not hide the shortcomings which still exist in our economic structure, they none the less fully contradicted all the assaults and calumnies spread broadcast against the Soviet Union.

I believe that if representatives of our trade and industry will, on the other hand, visit America, it will help us to better learn and know the achievements of American science and technique, as well as facilitate the establishment of normal trade and cultural relations with the United States, which will be beneficial to both countries.

4. BASIC QUESTIONS [18]

Is it accurate to say that the Communist Party controls the Russian Government?

It all depends upon what is meant by control. In capitalist countries they have a rather curious conception of control. I know that a number of capitalist governments are controlled by big banks, notwithstanding the existence of "democratic" parliaments. The parliaments assert that they alone control the government. As a matter of fact, the composition of the governments is predetermined, and their actions are controlled by great financial consortiums. Who does not know that there is not a single capitalist "Power" in which the Cabinet can be formed in opposition to the will of the big financial magnates? It is sufficient to exert financial pressure to cause Cabinet Ministers to fall from their posts as if they were stunned. This is real control exercised by banks over governments in spite of the alleged control of parliament. If such control is meant, then I must declare that control of the government by money-bags is inconceivable and absolutely excluded in the U. S. S. R., if only for the reason that the banks have been long ago nationalized and the money-bags have been ousted. Perhaps the delegation did not mean control, but the guidance exercised by the Party in relation to the Government. If that is what the delegation meant by its question, then my reply is: Yes, our Party does guide the Government. And the Party is able to guide the Government because it enjoys the confidence of the majority of the workers and the toilers generally and it has the right to guide the organs of the Government in the name of this majority.

In what is the guidance of the government by the workers' Party of the U. S. S. R., by the Communist Party of the U. S. S. R. expressed?

First of all it is expressed in that the Communist Party strives through the Soviets and their Congresses, to secure the election to the principal posts in the government of its own candidates, its best workers, who are loyal to the cause of the proletariat and prepared truly and faithfully to serve the proletariat. This it succeeds in doing in the overwhelming majority of cases because the workers and peasants have confidence in the Party. It is not an accident that the chiefs of Government departments in our country are Communists and that these chiefs enjoy enormous respect and authority.

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[18] By Stalin, Secretary of the Communist Party.

Secondly, the party supervises the work of the administration, the work of the organs of power; it rectifies their errors and defects, which are unavoidable; it helps them to carry out the decisions of the government and strives to secure for them the support of the masses. It should be added that not a single important decision is taken by them without the direction of the party.

Thirdly, when the plan of work is being drawn up by the various government organs, in industry or agriculture, in trade or in cultural work, the party gives general leading instructions defining the character and direction of the work of these organs in the course of carrying out these plans.

The bourgeois press usually expresses "astonishment" at this "interference" by the party in the affairs of the government. But this "astonishment" is absolutely hypocritical. It is well-known that the bourgeois parties in capitalist countries "interfere" in the affairs of the government and guide the government and moreover that in these countries this guidance is concentrated in the hands of a narrow circle of individuals connected in one way or another with the large banks and because of that they strive to conceal the part they play in this from the people. Who does not know that every bourgeois party in England, or in other capitalist countries, has its secret Cabinet consisting of a close circle of persons who concentrate the guidance in their hands?

Recall, for example, Lloyd George's celebrated reference to the "shadow Cabinet" in the Liberal Party. The differences between the land of the Soviets and the capitalist countries in this respect are (*a*) in capitalist countries the bourgeois parties guide the government in the interest of the bourgeoisie and against the proletariat, whereas in the U. S. S. R. the Communist Party guides the government in the interests of the proletariat and against the bourgeoisie; (*b*) the bourgeois parties conceal from the people the rôle they play in guiding the State, and resort to suspicious, secret cabinets, whereas the Communist Party in the U. S. S. R. does not stand in need of such secret cabinets. It condemns the policy and practice of secret cabinets and openly declares to the whole country that it takes upon itself the responsibility for the guidance of the State.

[On the same principles the party guides the trade unions.] . . .

Since there is legality for one political party only in Russia, how can one be sure that the masses favor Communism?

Take, first of all, so important a moment as the period of the October Revolution in 1917, when the Communist Party, precisely as a Party, openly called upon the workers and peasants to overthrow the rule of the bourgeoisie and when this Party obtained the support of the overwhelming majority of the workers, soldiers and peasants. What was the situation at the time? The Socialist Revolutionaries (SRs) and the Social Democrats (Mensheviks) allied with the bourgeoisie were in power then. The governmental apparatus, both in the center and locally, as well as the command of the army of twelve million, was in the hands of these parties, in the hands of the government. The Communist Party was in a state of semi-legality. The bourgeoisie of all countries prophesied the inevitable collapse of the Bolshevik Party. The Entente wholly and entirely supported the Kerensky government. Nevertheless, the Communist Party, the Bolshevik Party never ceased to call upon the proletariat to overthrow this government and to establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat. What happened? The overwhelming majority of the masses of the toilers in the rear as well as at the front most emphatically supported the Bolshevik Party—the Kerensky government was overthrown and the rule of the Proletariat was established. How is it that the Bolsheviks were able to emerge victorious at that time in spite of the malicious forecasts of the bourgeoisie of all countries of the doom of the Bolshevik Party? Does it not prove that the broad masses of the toilers sympathized with the Bolshevik Party? I think it does. This is the first test of the authority and influence of the Communist Party among the broad masses of the population.

Take the second period, the period of intervention and civil war, when the British capitalists occupied the North of Russia, the districts of Archangel and Murmansk, when the American, British, Japanese and French capitalists occupied Siberia and pushed Kolchak to the forefront, when the French and British capitalists took steps to occupy "South Russia" and raised on their shields Denikin and Wrangel. This was a war conducted by the Entente and the counter-revolutionary generals in Russia against the Communist Government in Moscow, against the achievements of the October Revolution. In this period the strength and stability of the Communist Party among the broad masses of the workers and peasants were put to the greatest test. And what happened? It is generally known that as a result of the Civil War the occupationary troops were driven from Russia and the counter-revolutionary generals were defeated by the Red Army.

Here it was proved that the outcome of war is decided in the last analysis not by technique, with which Kolchak and Denikin were plentifully furnished by the enemies of the U. S. S. R., but by proper policy, the sympathy and support of the millions of the masses of the population. Was it an accident that the Bolshevik Party proved victorious then? Of course not. Does not this fact prove that the Communist Party in Russia enjoys the sympathy of the wide masses of the toilers? I think it does. This is the second test of the strength and stability of the Communist Party in the U. S. S. R.

We will now take up the present period, the post-war period, when questions of peaceful construction are the order of the day. The period of economic ruin has given way to the period of restoration of industry and later to the period of the reconstruction of the whole of our national economy on a new technical basis. Have we now ways and means of testing the strength and stability of the Communist Party, of determining the degree of sympathy enjoyed by the Party among the broad masses of the toilers? I think we have.

Take first of all the trade unions which combine nearly 10 million proletarians. Let us examine the composition of the leading organs of these trade unions. Is it an accident that Communists are at the head of these organs? Of course not. It would be absurd to think that the workers in the U. S. S. R. are indifferent to the composition of the leading organs of their trade unions.

The workers in the U. S. S. R. grew up and received their training in the storms of three revolutions. They learned, as no other workers learned, to try their leaders and to expel them if they do not satisfy the interests of the proletariat. At one time the most popular man in our Party was Plekhanov. However, the workers did not hesitate to isolate him completely when they became convinced that he had abandoned the proletarian position. And if these workers express their complete confidence in the Communists, elect them to responsible posts in the trade unions, it is direct evidence that the strength and stability of the Communist Party among the workers in the U. S. S. R. is enormous. This is one test of the undoubted sympathy of the broad masses of the workers for the Communist Party.

Take the last Soviet elections. In the U. S. S. R. the whole of the adult population from the age of 18, irrespective of sex and nationality,—except the bourgeois elements who exploit the labor of others and those who have been deprived of their rights by the courts—enjoys the right to vote. The people enjoying the right to vote number 60 millions. The overwhelming majority of these, of course, are peasants. Of these 60 million voters, about 51 per cent., i. e., over 30 millions, exercise their right. Now examine the composition of the leading organs of our Soviets both in the center and locally. Is it an accident that the overwhelming majority of the elected leading elements are Communists? Clearly, it is not an accident. Does not this fact prove that the Communist Party enjoys the confidence of millions of the masses of the peasantry? I think it does. This is another test of the strength and stability of the Communist Party.

Take the Comsomol (Communist Youth League) which combines over 2 million young workers and peasants. Is it an accident that the overwhelming majority of the elected leading elements in the Communist Youth League are Communists? I think that it cannot be said to be an accident. Thus you have another test of the strength and authority of the Communist Party.

Finally, take the innumerable conferences, consultations, delegate meetings, etc., which embrace millions of the masses of the toilers, both workingmen and working women, peasants and peasant women, among all the nationalities forming the U. S. S. R. In Western countries, people wax ironical over these conferences and consultations and assert that the Russians like to talk very much. For us, however, these conferences and consultations are of enormous significance in that they serve as a test of the mood of the masses and also as a means of exposing our mistakes and indicating the methods by which these mistakes may be rectified; for we make not a few mistakes and we do not conceal them, because we think that to expose these errors and honestly to rectify them is one of the best means of improving the management of the country. Take the speeches delivered at these conferences and consultations. Note the business-like and ingenuous remarks uttered by these "simple people," these workers and peasants; note the decisions taken and you will see how enormous is the influence and authority of the Communist Party, an influence and authority that any party in the world might envy. Thus you have still another test of the stability of the Communist Party.

These are the ways and means enabling us to test the strength and influence of the Communist Party among the masses of the people.

That is how I know that the broad masses of the workers and peasants in the U. S. S. R. sympathize with the Communist Party. . . .

Could the Communist Party in the future take a neutral attitude towards a religious faith which supported all the teachings of science and did not oppose Communism?

The conditions of membership of our Party are: acceptance of the program and rules of the Party; absolute subordination to the decisions of the Party and its organs; payment of membership dues; and membership in one of the Party locals. . . .

Does that mean the Party is neutral towards religion? No, it does not. We carry on and will continue to carry on propaganda against religious prejudices. Our legislation guaranteed to citizens the right to adhere to any religion. This is a matter for the conscience of each individual. That is precisely why we carried out the separation of the Church from the State. But in separating the Church from the State and proclaiming religious liberty we at the same time guaranteed the right of every citizen to combat by argument, by propaganda and agitation any and all religion. The Party cannot be neutral towards religion and does conduct anti-religious propaganda against all and every religious prejudice because it stands for science, while religious prejudices run counter to science, because all religion is something opposite to science. Cases such as recently occurred in America in which Darwinists were prosecuted in court, cannot occur here because the Party carries out a policy of the general defense of science. The Party cannot be neutral towards religious prejudices and it will continue to carry on propaganda against these prejudices because this is one of the best means of undermining the influence of the reactionary clergy who support these exploiting classes and who preach submission to these classes. The Party cannot be neutral towards the bearers of religious prejudices, towards the reactionary clergy who poison the minds of the toiling masses. Have we suppressed the reactionary clergy? Yes, we have. The unfortunate thing is that it has not been completely liquidated. Anti-religious propaganda is a means by which the complete liquidation of the reactionary clergy must be brought about. Cases occur when certain members of the Party hamper the complete development of anti-religious propaganda. If such members are expelled it is a good thing because there is no room for such "Communists" in the ranks of our Party. . . .

What are the chief ways in which Russia differs from capitalist states in her treatment of national minorities?

This refers to the nationalities in the U. S. S. R. who were formerly oppressed by Tsarism and the Russian exploiting classes and who did not enjoy state sovereignty. The principal distinction is that while in capitalist states national oppression and national enslavement prevails, in the U. S. S. R. both the one and the other have been radically abolished. In capitalist states, side by side with nations of the first rank, privileged nations, "sovereign" nations, we have second rank nations, "non-sovereign" nations, nations which do not enjoy equality, which are deprived of various rights, principally of sovereign rights. In the U. S. S. R., however, all the attributes of national inequality and national oppression have been abolished. In the U. S. S. R., all nations are equal and sovereign, for the national and state privileges which previously were enjoyed by the great Russian people have been abolished. We do not of course speak of declarations of national equality. All bourgeois and Social-Democratic parties have made not a few declarations concerning national equality. What is the value of such declarations if they are not carried out? The thing to do is to abolish those classes which are the bearers, the creators and the conduits of national oppression. In Russia these classes were the landlords and capitalists. We overthrew these classes and by that abolished the possibility of national oppression. And precisely for the reason that we abolished these classes real national equality became possible in the U. S. S. R. This is what we call the application of the idea of self-determination of nations including even the right of complete separation. Precisely for the reason that we carried out the self-determination of nations, we managed to eliminate mutual suspicion between the toiling masses of the various nationalities in the U. S. S. R. and to unite these nationalities on a voluntary basis into one Federal State. The present Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, is the result of our national policy and expression of the voluntary federation of the nationalities in the U. S. S. R. into one federal state.

It is hardly necessary to prove that such a policy in the national question is inconceivable in capitalist countries, for there, the capitalists who are the creators and conduits of national oppression are still in power. For example, we cannot fail to observe that the supreme organ of the U. S. S. R., the Central Executive Committee of the Soviets, is headed not necessarily by one Russian chairman, but by six chairmen, representing each of the federal republics forming the U. S. S. R., of whom one is a Russian (Kalinin), the second a Ukrainian (Petrovsky), the third a White Russian (Cheriakov), the fourth an Azerbaidjanian (Musabekov), the fifth a Turkoman (Aitakov), and the sixth an Uzbek (Faizulla Hodjaev). This fact is a striking expression of our national policy. It need hardly be said that not a single bourgeois republic, however democratic it may be, would do this. And yet, with us it is taken as a matter of course, as following directly from our policy of national equality.

5. INDUSTRY AND THE GOSPLAN

Russia is a vast laboratory where scores of new and radical experiments are being conducted. For example, late in 1929 the Soviet Government decided to inaugurate the unbroken week in all industrial enterprises and offices. This means that there will be only five general holidays during the year: January 22, May 1, May 2, November 7, and November 8. It is proposed that for each worker every fifth day will be a day of rest, but no one day will be set aside for all workers, thus doing away with the general Sunday holiday as we know it. The following extract gives in outline the fundamental economic scheme of Communism.

Planning a Nation's Industry[19]

In Russia a factory is a landmark; it is pointed out as one points out a castle or a skyscraper in other lands. There are probably more factories in Pennsylvania than in all Russia combined. Over 80 per cent. of Russians are peasants tilling the land, and, in off seasons, doing a little industrial handicraft work. Of those who live in the towns and cities, a large fraction—altogether too large from the standpoint of efficiency—is engaged in the processes of retail distribution, tending store and peddling on the streets; another large fraction is concerned with government administration and the usual professional services; a third large fraction carries on building construction and public utility services, leaving as straight factory and industrial shop employees (in establishments having upwards of 30 workers each), not over 3,000,000 persons out of a total population of 150,000,000. In Russia, 2 persons out of 100 work in factories; in the United States about 8 persons in 100—four times as many relatively. We are a highly industrialized nation committed to mass production; Russia is a farming country with a factory and a mine here and there, and mass production only in evidence as a goal of the future.

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[19] From chapter by Chase, Stuart, in *Soviet Russia in the Second Decade,* pp. 14-52. John Day Co., New York, 1928.

It follows that the standard of living of the Russian people measured in terms of industrial output is, and has been—since the introduction of steam power—far lower than that of the people of the United States, on the average. From their physical appearance, the Russians eat as wholesomely, if not as variously, but their housing, their furnishings, their clothing, their tools, their means of transport and particularly their comforts and luxuries—barring an apparently inexhaustible supply of tea and cigarettes—are all, measured in pounds per capita, far, far below the average distributed in America. To attempt to judge pre-war Russia, or Russia today, by American standards is at once absurd and unjust. It is to date a totally different sort of a country.

Whether it need always remain so is another matter. Heaven forbid that it take over the American scene in toto, but it has the natural resources, the climate and, I suspect, the people, to approximate the prodigality of the industrial output of the United States. There seems to be no basic reason why factories and indeed mass production should not ultimately flourish in Russia. The temperate zone, the coal, oil, waterpower, timber, iron, metals, sugar, wool, cotton, leather, and the rest, are all there.

A Socialist State

I have no time and very little inclination to enter the mazes of doctrinaire theory covering the sorts and kinds of Socialism and Communism which Russia professes. Millions of words have been written about it, nor is there any sign that the printing presses will cease their output. Cutting under the interminable arguments to economic realities, what do we find? We find a great agricultural population which has been plowing, seeding and harvesting plain foods for a thousand years, eating the great bulk of them itself and giving a variable, but always relatively small, fraction of the total to landlords, czars and priests to eat. In bad years the peasants starved by the hundreds of thousands; in good years they ate bread a little less black, danced in the villages, composed sad and beautiful songs in the minor key, and ran the birth rate up to fifty to the thousand. Through war, invasion, flood, fire, pestilence and drought, this steady rhythm has continued undeflected; little more than touched by laws, edicts and the comings and goings of nobles, of metropolitans, and czars.

In 1914 another war came. The village boys marched off, but, as always, there were plenty left. In 1917 there came a revolution. For once the rhythm was broken—while the manor house was burned and the land records destroyed. The dictatorship of the Czar was exchanged for the dictatorship of the proletariat. The peasants had the land; but in a deeper sense they had always had the land. They still must plow and seed and harvest and eat the bulk of what they produced. A few years later came a famine. That was bad. But presently crops were good, and the everlasting rhythm continued—and still continues. That rhythm is Russia—whether Peter the Great or Comrade Stalin sits in the Kremlin. In the face of this timeless economy, long dissertations on exactly what shade of Socialism rules Russia, seem just a little remote.

But certain profound changes are to be noted—particularly in the status of the 2 per cent. who work in factories. And while want rules the peasants as it has always ruled them, there is at least no longer a dead hand to deny advancement to those who genuinely desire it. The path upward is not only free, it is encouraged. The gentleman who might be called the President of the Republic, Mr. Kalinin, was formerly a peasant. Lastly, and what may prove to be most important of all, the new government is doing all in its power to break the traditional, wasteful methods of agriculture. In the reapportioning of land it is getting away from the old strip system; in the Ukraine alone it is building 3,000 new villages, bringing the peasant nearer his land and spacing it more economically around its community focus; it is introducing more scientific systems of crop rotation. In a widespread system of experimental farms and laboratories, it is studying soils, improving seeds and stock, adapting crops to their natural economic areas. It has imported upwards of 30,000 tractors, established schools, colleges and museums of agriculture, and created a remarkable publicity technique through the medium of simple charts, posters and primers to get the scientific knowledge gleaned into the peasants' hand—and heads. This new experimental work —which I have seen in operation over a large area—is impressive in its quantity and its quality. It is beginning to take effect—20 per cent. of the Ukraine has gone on to the new "public rotations"—it may some day break the ancient rhythm and turn peasants into scientific farmers, but that some day is still far off. The habits of a thousand years are not broken over night. The start is auspicious, but it is only a beginning.

Meanwhile 90 per cent. of all agricultural output which finds a market is produced by private peasant proprietors—petty business men, if you please. Only 10 per cent. is produced by State farms and agricultural coöperatives combined. This is a long way from Socialism in agriculture.

Once the peasant's goods are on the market, and in respect to the great bulk of industrial goods, Socialism begins to operate. Whereas in the United States the overwhelming majority of production and distribution is in private hands subject to the profit motive, in Russia it is in the hands of the national government, the local government, or the coöperative associations. Including small industries and handicrafts, only about 17 per cent. of industrial production is in private hands. Furthermore the tendency in the past four years is for both private production and distribution to take a decreasing percentage of the total business.

For most industrial transactions then, the profit motive as we know it in America has ceased to operate. Individual initiative animated by gain is not in the picture; certainly not in its proper place in the picture; while the sovereign laws of supply and demand, if not in complete abeyance, are at least in hiding. The earning of profits appears we shall see, but in a very different, and from the point of view of the Manchester school, doubtless in a very wrongheaded sort of way. Instead of industrial goods being furnished automatically by the activity of thousands of private individuals hoping to make a profit, as is the theory in America, they are furnished by a deliberate and coördinated policy on the part of the state. This policy finds expression in the operations of the state industrial trusts, the state syndicates and other distribution agencies, and the coöperative associations, which, while voluntary, are protected and fostered by the government. Prices instead of following the usual haggling of the market are abitrarily laid down—on a far grander scale than was ever attempted by the Standard Oil Company or the United States Steel Corporation. The ownership of land, natural resources, over 80 per cent. of industrial production, two-thirds of the distribution system, have been socialized in Russia. Thus, despite the fact that the bulk of agricultural production is still in private hands, we have here probably the largest experiment in socialism which was ever attempted in the history of the world.

It is an experiment which merits our careful attention. If it can compete successfully with other economic systems, particularly the system loosely called capitalism, quite apart from the politics, the prejudices, and the windy speeches of its opponents and its adherents, it will set up a new standard for the operation of industry and force inferior methods off the market. If it cannot compete—in worthwhile goods produced per man-hour expended—again despite the shoutings and the tumult, it is destined to languish and ultimately to disappear.

In theory, each system has its advantages and its disadvantages. The wastes of capitalism are obvious to any impartial observer who cares to study them. The business cycle, the enormous duplication of the productive and distributive mechanism, the load of advertising and competitive salesmanship, restrictions upon the free exchange of technical knowledge and invention, the reserve army of unemployment, over-expansion, cross-hauling, the production of super-luxuries—are implicit in capitalism, and all waste manpower. On the other hand, the capitalist system is defended on the ground that it is automatic, requiring no great bureaucratic load to administer it, and that the hope of profit releases a fund of energy in business men which causes them to contrive, invent and manage, in the interests of more efficiency and lower costs for their own particular enterprises. In these lower costs the consumer is supposed to share, when competition is given free play.

The Russian experiment is based on the theory that there is more to be gained by coördinating industry to a functional plan and so eliminating the wastes of the business cycle, duplication of plant facilities, over-exhaustion of natural resources, high-pressure salesmanship and the rest, than can be lost through failure to stimulate individual initiative animated by the private-profit motive.

It is a pretty question, and one not to be decided by rhetoric. On paper the socialistic system has all the best of it. It is clean cut, straightforward and logical. Organize and control industry to produce with minimum waste and duplication the things which citizens need and want. Unfortunately, mankind is not often governed by logical considerations, and accordingly the psychological, not to say mystical, elements in the capitalist argument have a force in tangible performance that is not to be gainsaid. An industrial anarchy like America, has, in the last few years, lowered costs, enormously increased the bulk total of production, raised real wages and with them the standard of living of its inhabitants. A functional society ought to do better, but can it? That is the ultimate challenge to the Russian experiment. Can it develop and foster economic well-being, first, faster than the Czar's government did so, and finally, faster than the capitalist political democracy of America can achieve it? As we shall see presently, it has already begun to outdistance the Czar, but it cannot yet begin to be compared with the more advanced capitalist nations in the volume of its industrial output.

The Industrial Organization

Shortly after the Communist Party assumed authority for the economic life of Russia, it passed decrees which abolished private business altogether, which nationalized all means of production, largely eliminated the banking system and money, carried on commercial transactions in goods and in kind, requisitioned food supplies, distributed by card system—in brief, which splintered traditional economic habits into a thousand fragments. Part of this astonishing program was the result of theories not particularly well digested in the rather restricted atmosphere of prison and exile; part of it was the result of a concrete crisis that had to be somehow met—with a dozen alien armies advancing on as many fronts. "War Communism" it was called, and while it almost wrecked the national economy, it at least served to supply the young republic with enough plain food to keep it alive, and to equip the Red Armies with enough shot and shell utterly to rout their enemies.

But when the last White brigade had wheeled and fled, and Russia had time to turn around and survey her internal scene, a more dismal picture of a going economic structure it would be difficult to imagine. Lenin assumed the leadership of this stock taking, and inaugurated, in 1921, the New Economic Policy, which obliterated War Communism, as War Communism had obliterated capitalism. This New Economic Policy might be termed pragmatic socialism—as much socialism as the exigencies of the situation would permit, and no more. A money system was reëstablished, banks and credit facilities were set up, private interests were allowed to enter retail trade in large numbers, and to enter industrial production in smaller numbers. The forced requisition of food supplies from the peasants was stopped, the ruble was standardized on a gold basis, buying and selling reverted to a condition that was not too extravagantly out of line with former habits.

A period of rather carefully watched and checked experimentation set in. If a given policy did not work, it was scrapped—sometimes with a lag to be sure—in favor of something else that had a better chance of working. Gradually out of economic chaos came a semblance of order. Transportation was the first dirty mess to be cleaned up, and it was cleaned up within the limits of the available equipment. Factories were repaired and reopened, industrial production began to increase, retail stores again had goods for sale.

The period of experimentation still goes on. Policies are still being scrapped and new ones tried out. "The first crude beginnings of socialism" as Trotsky characterized the system to us in Moscow, are still in flux. I shall not attempt accordingly to give a detailed picture of the organization of that system; it will be modified before these words appear in print, perhaps drastically, perhaps moderately, depending upon circumstances. In broad terms, however, Russian industry in 1927 is carried on by the following major agencies.

Production

The bulk of non-handicraft industrial production—over 80 per cent. of it—is operated by several hundred State trusts, both national and republican, i.e., organized by the constituent republics of the U. S. S. R. These trusts are both vertical and horizontal; they may, like the Sugar Trust, comprise all operations from the growing of beets to the marketing of sugar; or they may simply comprise a given industrial process—such as wood-working—carried on by a number of plants in a given geographical area. In a specified industry there may be one trust, or a number of trusts, each comprehending several individual productive units —mines, or factories. There are 3 oil trusts, one for each of the major fields. There are 20 major trusts in the metal industry; 4 in the electrical industry; 5 in the woodworking industries; 13 in the cotton industry, and so forth. Altogether, there are about 60 major trusts.

These trusts are controlled as to general policy, prices, fixed capital, and the appointment of managing boards, by the Supreme Economic Council, of the nation, or of the local republic, as the case may be. The Supreme Economic Council is a cabinet department of the government. Within these rather severe limits, however, the trust is legally independent and responsible for its own financial obligations. Subject to universal labor laws it hires and fires and sets its wage rates after collective bargaining with the trade union; it borrows from the banks, contracts for its raw material, arranges for marketing its products, keeps its own books, and perhaps most significant of all, registers at the close of the fiscal year a profit or a loss after making due allowance for depreciation. Under the decree of April 10, 1923, which started this machinery in motion, each trust was granted a special charter from the State to operate "on a commercial basis with the aim of acquiring profits."

On the strength of the operating showing, the Supreme Economic Council maintains or changes the management of the trust after exhaustive scrutiny of its detailed and voluminous reports. Its showing is also a major factor in determining allotments for new capital outlays. By and large, the profitable trust has first call on the budget.

Profits are divided three ways: about 50 per cent. to the government, including a 10 per cent. income tax; 10 per cent. for the welfare of the workers; the balance to the surplus of the trust for expansion and reserves.

At this point we have to note a policy of the first importance from the standpoint of a coördinated industrial structure whose goal is economic self-sufficiency—profits from one trust as turned over to the government can be applied to make good deficits in another trust; or they can be applied for the expansion of another trust. Thus an industry need not necessarily curtail or suspend operations if it is not meeting its costs—*provided* it can convince the Supreme Economic Council that its losses are due to conditions over which it has not control. Thus the farm machinery trust is required to sell tools and implements to the peasants at 1913 prices. It cannot possible earn money on this basis and is allowed a subsidy accordingly. The iron and steel industry is in the "infant" class. It was never strong before the war and what there was of it suffered heavily during the war. It is a policy of the government to lay a foundation for a comprehensive industrialism by developing iron and steel. The operating losses during this development period are financed in part by the profits of the lighter industries—textiles, rubber, sugar, etc. And so, by virtue of this common pool, it is hoped to keep industry balanced, with the stronger helping the weaker until the latter can stand on their own feet. But individual plants within a trust which have been found to be persistent money losers—due to uneconomic location, or what not—may be shut down—and have been shut down, by the order of the

Council. Great care seems to be taken not to subsidize indefinitely operations which have no reasonable economic excuse for existence. For the plants which ought to earn and do not, the Council changes the management—has indeed a special corps of salvaging experts who have, in the fire of practical experience, proved their ability to turn deficits into profits.

For the fiscal year ended October 1, 1926, the sixty-two major trusts earned profits of $163,000,000 and losses of $24,000,000—leaving a net of $139,000,000. Their total capitalization was about $2,000,000,000, and thus their earnings averaged almost 7 per cent. The aggregate net profit of all State industries in 1926 was about $250,000,000 on a capitalization of $3,400,000,000—slightly over 7 per cent.

Based on nine months' performance for the fiscal year ending October 1, 1927, the aggregate net earnings of all State industry, on the same fixed price levels as obtained in 1926, should be about $350,000,000—one hundred millions better than the year before. During 1927, however, prices for trust products were abitrarily reduced some 6 per cent. on the average, cutting $75,000,000 from gross income, and leaving the estimated profit for the current year at $275,000,000.

These profits and losses, it must be remembered, are all part of a controlled structure; they are not subject to the same forces of supply, demand, price, competition, which obtain in other countries, and although the profit of a trust affects its credit, its wage rates, its new capital outlays, in another sense the profit is primarily a bookkeeping device to measure the efficiency of departments within one great operating whole. This device is widely used among our own large corporations for stimulating departmental efficiency. The Russian experiment seems to have worked out to a point midway between the departmental profit mechanism, and a condition of independent profit making. That it meets the pragmatic test and works, is evidenced by the striking increase in the physical quantity of production since 1922.

The balance of factory production is handled by such coöperatives as run their own factories; by private enterprise, by "mixed" companies (i.e., jointly controlled by the state and private interests, or by the state and the coöperatives); and by concessions granted to foreigners.

Handicraft industry is carried on by peasants at their farms and town workers in petty shops, who may or may not be organized into "artels" for buying raw materials and marketing their finished products. Government control over the handicraft field is far from stringent. The "Kustar" in certain sections is encouraged by the government to keep alive the very real values, artistic and otherwise, in the Russian handicrafts.

Of all fabricated goods, both factory made and hand made, including intermediate products, such as machinery, as well as goods for final consumption—the ratio in money value of output is roughly as follows. The figures are from the State Planning Commission and include all registered industry, measured in pre-war rubles. Doubtless a considerable volume of handicraft and home industry, locally exchanged, escapes registration, and to such extent the ratio of private handicraft production should be increased.

	Fiscal Year		
	1924	1925	1926
	%	%	%
State trusts produced	70	75	77
Coöperatives produced	5	5	5
Large-scale private and concession industry produced	4	3	3
Small private industry and private handicrafts produced	21	17	15
Total industrial production	100	100	100

In the last three years the tendency is clearly for the State trusts to grow at the expense of private industry, with the production ratio of the coöperatives remaining substantially unchanged.

Transportation both land and water is not a state trust but a government department under a cabinet officer, with its revenues and expenses running directly into the national budget. The net profit of the railways was some $5,000,000 in 1925, $24,000,000 in 1926, and is estimated to run over $100,000,000 in 1927. This profit is, however, not sufficient to finance the new capital outlays needed and voted for the railroads. The excess has to come out of the general budget.

The postal service, telegraphs, telephones and radio service are also outside the trust machinery, and operated by the cabinet department of Posts and Telegraphs. In 1926 the gross revenue of the department was reported as $67,000,000, an increase of 41 per cent. over 1925.

The production of electricity is operated in part by the public utility departments of local political areas, in part by trusts which have their own power plants, and for large super-power developments, by special committees in the national government.

Distribution

The State trusts, the coöperatives, the private industries, the peasants, produce their manufactured articles and their crops, and place them on the market. How are they delivered to the ultimate consumer? There are five chief mediums:

State wholesaling and retailing establishments
Coöperative retail stores
Private retail stores
The rural fairs
The government export bureau.

The State trusts have organized among themselves for purposes of distribution some twenty syndicates, one for an industry. The textile syndicate, for instance, markets the output of all the trusts in the textile industry. There is a syndicate for most of the major industries and it follows that a large fraction of the wholesale trade in Russia is handled by these twenty agencies. They are created by voluntary agreement among the trusts, but the Supreme Economic Council controls both the prices at which they take goods over from the trusts, and the prices at which they sell to the retail trade. It is the function of the syndicates (and the Union which acts as a clearing house for them all), to secure orders for trust products, to allot the orders among the constituent plants on the basis of capacity, distance to market, etc., to make market surveys relative to the possible demand for products, to assist the trusts in securing raw materials, to cut down transportation costs, to standardize materials and final products, to arrange credit facilities, and to promote retail stores in favorable locations. Among others, we note syndicates in oil, agricultural machinery, tobacco, textiles, clothing, leather, salt, vegetable oils and fats, starch and sirup, wine, sugar, matches, metals.

The syndicates, or the trusts individually, or local government bodies, may open and operate retail stores—the local government being often responsible for department stores. In addition the trusts, or the trade unions for the benefit of unemployed members, may organize street booths and groups of street peddlers. A large part of all retail trade is in government hands.

Next in importance come the coöperative stores, organized usually on a price-cutting rather than on a straight Rochdale coöperative basis. Finally come the private retail stores, which were of the first importance following the establishment of the New Economic Policy, but are now declining in turnover relative to the other two groups.

At the trade fairs—the Nizhni-Novgorod, the Baku, the Irbit, the Kharkov Epiphany, and the rest—an ancient and colorful practice is maintained and encouraged, and in the aggregate a considerable amount of both wholesale and retail business transacted. The turnover of Nizhni-Novgorod in 1926 was said to be nearly $75,000,000 in the six weeks which the fair continued.

Lastly in respect to the export of goods produced in Russian fields and factories, the national government maintains a rigid monopoly, in an attempt at once to build up a favorable balance of trade, and to allow nothing to leave the country which is needed for internal economy.

The relative share of the State, the coöperative, and private interest, in all internal trade, both wholesale and retail, may be roughly expressed in the following percentages. I say roughly advisedly, for while accurate reports are required from state and coöperative agencies, the private turnover has to be estimated on the basis of the wholesale value of the goods which have been bought from the syndicates and trusts.

	Fiscal Year	
	1925	1926
	%	%
State Trading Enterprises	50	49
Coöperatives	27	30
Private Trade	23	21
Total Trade	100	100

The coöperatives seem to be growing at the expense of both State and private interests according to these figures.

For retail trade alone, the percentage in private hands has been estimated as follows:

1924	59
1925	44
1926	39
1927	36

From all available evidence, private trading, like private manufacturing, is decreasing its ratio of the total business done. This decrease, however, does not seem to be due strictly to natural causes, but rather to the artificial and onerous restraints which have been placed upon private trading. Government policy has been frankly aimed at its complete elimination, if and when, it is no longer vital to the national economy. It was vital following War Communism, but with the development of other workable agencies—particularly state and coöperative stores, it becomes increasingly less vital, and restrictions can be imposed with greater and greater harshness. These restrictions take the form of heavy taxation, difficulty in securing merchandise due to the fact that state and coöperative establishments have first call, restricted discount and credit facilities, and so forth. The penalties are not so severe as to abolish the private merchant, because his services as a distributor are still needed, but ultimately it is hoped to have the coöperatives carry on the great bulk of retail trade, and no opportunity is lost to force distribution in that direction.

We found, furthermore, that in all probability pressure was being exerted at the expense of efficiency. If private trading is not too seriously hampered, it can serve as a standard which the State and coöperative stores must strive to better in fair combat, and thus keep their own selling expenses at a minimum. This does not seem to be the case at the present time. The cost margins of the private store are arbitrarily loaded with government imposed expenses, and as a result the State and coöperative stores do not have to be particularly efficient to undersell them. The charge has been made—though I saw no specific figures to support it—that pay-rolls in the favored stores have been padded by the addition of needless clerks, messengers, and hangers-on.

The fact that a "goods famine" has obtained for the past two years (i.e., more purchasing power available than goods to satisfy it) tends to keep the private trader from passing out of the picture altogether. By smuggling, hoarding, shopping around, he can often keep a stock together which can be profitably marketed when demand flows over from the government and coöperative stores, whose shelves have been temporarily sold out.

A report issued in September, 1927, gives the spread between factory door and ultimate consumer for manufactured goods, as 56 per cent. This is not as high as the average spread in the United States where profits, cross-hauling, duplication of retail facilities, advertising and high-pressure salesmanship generally, takes a tremendous toll, but it is far too high for a functional system, and is causing the industrial leaders of Russia a great deal of concern at the present time. In a summary of the economic accomplishments and failures of the past year, the plenum of the Communist Party observes that the year is marked by:

> "The maintenance of a high general level of prices for industrial goods in spite of all efforts, and the great discrepancy between wholesale and retail prices."

Coördinating Industry

With this very general outline of the actual machinery by which production and distribution are carried on at the present time in Russia, let us devote our attention a little more carefully to the ways and means by which the attempt is made to coördinate the whole economic structure in the interest of a balanced, waste-eliminating plan.

The goal to be achieved by the plan is simple and straightforward: a maximum production of necessities and plain comforts for the workers and peasants of Russia at a minimum of human effort, while scrupulously safeguarding at the same time the health, safety, education, opportunity for leisure, and working conditions of those who labor. In other words, however great the benefits of low cost production, it must not be obtained at the expense of the fundamental health and welfare of the workers. Only enough capital will be permitted to flow into a given industry, to balance consumer requirements: just enough shoe factories to provide shoes for the people of Russia; just enough textile mills; just enough sugar factories.

War Communism was largely a planless chaos. The New Economic Policy set up a host of boards and commissions to deal more pragmatically with harsh realities. Interests began to clash, particularly as the economic structure started to revive and capital was available for the expansion of industry. This capital was severely limited. Would it go to electrification, to the railroads, to agricultural experiment stations, to canals, to the iron and steel industry, to the drilling of new oil wells? The Russians are passionate pleaders and one can imagine the officers of the budget sitting amid a flow of rhetoric, and sweating large drops. Twenty billions called for, and only one to give. Nor is America the only country where town boosters are eloquent. From the Yellow Sea to the Baltic, the grandest little burg on earth pleaded for its power station, or fleet of tractors, or new housing project.

It was either flip a coin for it, or deliberately and intelligently plan; secure wide popular approval for the plan, and hold new capital expenditures, aye, the whole economic structure, to its general outlines. Only so could be created a first line of defense against the piteous wails of every industry, and every geographical section.

The gentlemen who run Russia do not travel on the flip-a-coin basis. They proceeded to get together a group of able economists, engineers and statisticians and ordered them—as President Wilson ordered the War Industries Board—to outline a program—a plan for next year, a plan for the next five years, a general policy for the next fifteen years. And so, in 1923, the State Planning Commission, popularly known as the *Gosplan,* came into being, taking over the functions of an earlier superpower board. It was paper work, inevitably abundant with theory and speculation, but at the same time it was an answer to a tangible, immediate crisis.

The national Gosplan at Moscow now has a large building to itself not far from the Kremlin. Its atmosphere reminded me strongly of the old Food Administration barracks in which I worked at Washington—the temporary partitions, the hurrying messengers, the calculating machines, the telephones, the cleared desks, the unending panorama of charts and maps. It is an atmosphere tense with effort; where men and women take their work with the utmost seriousness. They feel, and one feels with them, that they are challenged with a problem which lies at the border line of the capacity of the human intellect. To integrate in detail the economic life of one hundred and fifty millions of people over a six thousand mile stretch of territory is a bigger job than has ever been attempted in administrative annals. Only time can tell whether or not it is too big for human minds to cope with. But one can only stand bareheaded before the audacity and the courage of the experiment.

Suppose you were asked to-morrow to take a train to Washington, to sit at a desk in a government bureau, to take pencil and paper and tell the railroads, the power companies, the steel mills, the coal mines, the oil fields, the Secretary of the Treasury, the banks, the wholesale houses, the farmers, the ship lines, the automobile factories—how to order their capital investments and their raw materials, how to plan their production and distribution, for the next five years! One suspects that even Mr. Henry Ford would quail before the order. For lesser mortals, a journey to the moon would seem about as feasible. Yet here are men who have accepted the challenge in a bigger, though less industrially complicated, country.

The early work of the Gosplan was concerned with laying a statistical base for its future tables and diagrams, and with organizing subsidiary groups throughout the country. The first statistics of the Young Republic were sketchy and unreliable. They gave only the crudest notion of what was actually happening. Obviously this situation had to be corrected if curves which ran into the future, based on past performance, were to be worth more than so much waste paper. For the fiscal year 1926 (and thus prepared in 1925) a rough national plan was worked out, but I was told that the basic statistics were too poor to make it of much value. A year later, in 1926, the situation in statistics—i.e., the reliability of crop reports, factory production figures, trade turnover figures and the rest—had so far improved that it was possible to lay down an integrated plan for the fiscal year 1927 which really began to set up workable standards for the various branches of industry to meet. Finally some months ago, in the spring of 1927, a five-year plan was published in a book of 300 pages, and on this five-year plan industry is now actually operating, as we shall see.

There are at present over 500 persons on the central staff of the Gosplan in Moscow, headed by a governing board of sixteen, who are appointed by the Council of Peoples Commissars. In addition there are a number of consulting experts on a part-time arrangement. The staff is divided into a Reconstruction Division, a Production Division, and an Economic Division. A monthly statistical review is published, much of the data for which is kept up to date by information wired from the outlying local districts. The Gosplan has legal authority to demand documents and figures from any outside source. It does not do much collecting of original data itself.

To coördinate its activities, local planning boards—little Gosplans—have been set up all over the country. The Ural section has a fine building to itself and a staff of over 200. Each constituent republic has such a board, each major district, each smaller provincial area. Every agricultural center, every factory, prepares reports that ultimately come into the Gosplan calculations. The reports are made on printed forms and carry a wealth of detailed information—quite possibly more than is actually needed. As a result, every industrial unit knows where it functions, what it is expected to produce, what niche it fills in the whole national economy. I found no factory manager, no director of even the smallest agricultural station, who did not know all about the Gosplan; who did not feel its hand on his day-by-day work.

You may decide to go to Russia, but you cannot get in without a visa on your passport. Similarly no major step in industry, agriculture, transportation, super-power or finance can be taken without the visa of the Gosplan. It is the clearing house for the whole economic structure. Yet legally it is an advisory body only; one arm of the Council of Labor and Defense. It can promulgate no legislation, issue no "cease and desist" orders. Its power comes from the fact that the supreme administrative body of the republic—the Council of People's Commissars—will not act on economic matters until it has secured the approval of the Gosplan. Its real power—as opposed to its legal power—is accordingly very great. It charts the course upon which the ship of state is steered.

It would be a mistake to suppose, however, that the Gosplan is the only agent for economic coördination and forward planning. Rather it is the court of last resort. The Supreme Economic Council which as we have seen directs the trusts and operates industry, has a whole series of planning boards connected with its administrative branches. These boards work out operating schedules for the future, propose the allocation of new capital, industry by industry, make detailed proposals of what they think should be done. When such proposals are finally threshed out, *then* they go to the Gosplan for acceptance or revision. The Gosplan has itself been following industry closely; it has on the table, furthermore, the current proposals for agricultural development, the proposals for transportation, for super-power, for exports; finally, it has its own one-year and five-year programs as a bench mark—and, as a resultant of all these forces, it is the only body in the State which can intelligently accept or revise the proposals of the planning boards of the Supreme Economic Council, or of the railroads, or of any other operating group. It alone can fit the jig-saw puzzle together.

The operating groups feel its force, however, before the final amendment of their proposals. In making those same proposals, each group knows fairly specifically what is expected of it according to the one-year and five-year plans. They know that they cannot jump off the reservation too far. Thus if the Gosplan program calls for 10,000,000 tons of oil in 1928, the Oil Trust reporting through the Supreme Economic Council would hardly dare ask for new capital sufficient to produce 20,000,000 tons. It would know it was beaten in advance; that no such upsetting of the economic balance would be tolerated, however cogent the reasoning of the oil men. But smaller percentage variations are always in order, and if the reasoning is sufficiently cogent, allowed. I was informed on high authority that the original proposals for the canal adjoining the Don and the Volga rivers are being considerably modified in respect to immediate expenditures, while the original proposals for the development of the textile industry are being considerably expanded. There is nothing ultimately hard and fast about the Gosplan programs. There cannot be if they are to succeed.

The objectives of the Gosplan have been two. First to bring Russian economic output up to the pre-war basis of productivity. Second, to make Russia economically self-supporting—so far as is reasonably possible. These two objectives, furthermore, were not in complete harmony, because self-sufficiency meant a greater relative expenditure on capital goods than on goods for immediate consumption, and thus delayed the attainment of the pre-war output of consumable commodities.

Despite this handicap, as we shall see in the next section, the pre-war level for all industry combined has been reached and passed, with specific industries still below and others far above the 1913 standard. Therefore, the first objective of the Gosplan, broadly speaking, has been attained, though much remains to be done in pulling up the lagging minority.

The second objective is far more complicated and difficult. Russia can feed herself with plenty left over, but industrially she has always drawn heavily on other countries in exchange for her food surplus. Somewhere within her far-flung borders, there is nearly every sort of raw material, or the means to mine it or grow it—but the specific development for all sorts of essential manufactured goods has hitherto been lacking. Cotton can be grown in Russia, but the bulk of the material for her textile mills has always come from America—and still does. Meanwhile, the machinery within the cotton mills has crossed the border from England or Germany, or elsewhere. To grow cotton and make textile machinery in sufficient quantities to meet national requirements is a large and complicated problem. Behind it march in dismal phalanx the problems of rubber, chemicals, tractors, motor cars, coal-cutting machinery, locomotives, trolley cars, steamships, mill machinery of all kinds, instruments of precision, and what not. For many commodities, the cost of economic self-sufficiency, particularly at the present time, is vastly higher than the import cost—if the goods could be readily secured on the world market. For some commodities, it is positively prohibitive.

It is not to be gainsaid, however, that Russia could be advantageously far more self-sufficient than has been the case to date. The Gosplan objective would be sound up to a certain point whatever the form of government. It is sound to a somewhat further point when the numerous outside attempts to isolate the country economically are considered. Standing in perpetual threat of boycott and "cordon sanitaire," she has got to be reasonably self-sufficient, even if the initial cost gives a product at far above the world market price.

Meanwhile it devolves upon the Gosplan not only to lay down the general policy but to fix the point. How far shall self-sufficiency go?

There may be a concrete and comprehensive answer, but I could not find it. Broadly speaking, we know it goes all the way in respect to iron and steel and electrification. There is no phase in either industry which is not planned to bear the trade-mark "Made in Russia." Rubber, cotton and cork plantations are being experimented with. There is talk of large silk farms, of a huge automobile plant, of tractor factories. But it would take a year to find, and a book to tell, the exact status of the plans and the tangible achievement of the policy of economic self-sufficiency.

Finally, I was informed by a number of leading government technicians that perhaps in the long run the economic boycott would prove more of a blessing than a curse—though a curse it is in many respects. Like a bird which pushes her fledglings out of the nest, it has forced a nation with almost no industrial initiative hitherto to try her wings.

The five-year program of the Gosplan covers the span from October 1, 1926, to October 1, 1931.[20] During that period it calls for a 78 per cent. increase in the volume of industrial production against a 30 per cent. increase in agricultural production. With industry growing faster than agriculture, it is hoped to close the famous "scissors," and to give the peasant an adequate flow of textiles and hardware in return for his wheat and his beef; to bring industrial prices into reasonable alignment with agricultural prices. One year of the five is nearly completed, and figures are available, based on performance to date, to tell whether the program as outlined is actually being carried out.

Industrial production was budgeted to increase by about 15 per cent. Actually it has increased 13.7 per cent. The aggregate of agricultural production which is not locally consumed but finds a market, was budgeted to increase by 6 per cent. Actually it has increased 8.7 per cent. The shooting is thus not bull's-eye work, but it is close enough to make the five-year plan look as though it had a fighting chance.

On September 9, 1927, the Gosplan released its conclusions for the fiscal year 1927, and its proposals for the year 1928. Perhaps there is no better way to show the scope and method of its work than briefly to summarize that report.

It starts with a list of five major difficulties. Russian statisticians have a genius for being gloomy. The Gosplan finds that relative to needs, the industrial structure is growing all too slowly and it sees no turning point in this relative backwardness for years to come. The second black mark is the fact that population is growing faster than it can adequately be cared for, with a very serious unemployment situation as a result. The third is the lack of alignment between agricultural and industrial production—the still open scissors. The fourth is the difficulty in knowing where to draw the line between industry producing capital goods and industry producing goods for immediate consumption (the self-sufficiency

[20] This was later revised and a new five-year-plan projected to run from 1828-33.

dilemma). The fifth is the difficulty in securing the technical ability to carry out the immense projects in new capital construction for which the funds are available. Money is ready but not the full engineering staff.

With this sound Presbyterian beginning, we proceed to somewhat more cheerful matters. The mass of agricultural and industrial products which entered trade in 1927 amounted to $9,606,000,000. In 1928, the total should reach $10,850,000,000—an increase of 13 per cent. Prices are to be cut in 1928, however, which will bring the gross volume down to $10,323,000,000, or a money increase of about 7 per cent. (The physical volume will presumably remain at 13 per cent. and thus roughly approximate a second successful year on the original five-year program; to wit, a 15 per cent. increase in industrial goods, and a 6 per cent. increase in agricultural goods.) The productivity of labor will increase 12 per cent. in 1928, and manufacturing costs will decline 6 per cent. on the average. Transportation is to increase 12 per cent.

In 1928, consumption goods will not be increased as fast as the ratios of the previous years. A relatively greater effort will go into capital goods. This will cause some dissatisfaction and tend to prolong the goods famine, but there is now at least enough to go around on a modest standard of living, and capital goods are urgently needed. In respect to consumption goods, the first six months of 1928 will be harder sledding for consumers than the second six months.

The total capital investment in 1928 will be $2,678,000,000, an increase of $412,000,000 over 1927. Of this total, government industries will get $600,000,000, transportation $248,000,000, electrification projects $144,000,000. About 1,000,000 men will be engaged in construction work. Construction costs are to come down at least 8 per cent. during the year.

Total government revenues for 1928 will be $2,832,500,000, an increase of some 18 per cent. over 1927. The increase of 1927 over 1926 was 30 per cent. The budget is thus beginning to find its normal level. Revenue from taxes are not expected to increase as much as revenues from other sources—trust profits and the like. Administrative expenses must come down at least 20 per cent. during 1928.

The total credit facilities of the nation will expand 23.2 per cent. in 1928 to a total increase of $605,125,000, with a relatively greater share for long-term credits available.

Of all hired manual labor at the present time, 80.6 men out of 100 work for the government or the coöperatives, leaving only 19.4 men working for private industry. The former percentage will rise during 1928, forcing private industry to even lower ratios. In respect to distribution, the present share controlled by the government and coöperatives will rise to 84.5 per cent. in 1928, a sharp increase over 1927.

And finally the coming year will proceed "on a non-crisis course on the basis of economic equilibrium."

A more audacious document it would be difficult to imagine. Sixteen men heading the Gosplan salt down the whole economic life of one hundred and fifty millions of people for a year in advance as calmly as a Gloucester man salts down his fish. Furthermore, what I have seen of the actual working of the economic structure in Russia leads me to suppose that—failing Acts of God—the actual performance for the year 1928 will not be so very far from the prophecies and commandments so calmly made.

I do not imagine that there is a single business man, or more than half a dozen professors of economics, in America, who would not pooh-pooh, ridicule and utterly refuse to believe that such a thing were either possible or even remotely conceivable. Trained as I have been, I have the greatest difficulty in crediting it myself. One can only remember that forecasting in a system of economic anarchy is a far more risky business than forecasting in a system where 80 per cent. of industry is administered from one central conning tower.

But until—say fifteen months from now—a committee of pooh-poohers can show me that the figures I have quoted above have failed tragically to materialize, I must go on, staggering under a sort of dizzy conviction that what the Gosplan points to will actually come to pass.

Incentives

The figures cited above indicate that the Russian industrial machine is producing more and more goods every year. The American visitor is somewhat at a loss to understand what motivates this increase; what makes the Russians work. Save for the diminishing number of private manufacturers and traders, there is no incentive furnished by the hope of private profit in the whole mechanism at all. Why do the wheels keep turning faster and faster? It is quite contrary to our accepted rules for industrial behavior; indeed enough to make old Adam Smith himself stir in his grave.

A closer inspection, however, reveals a fairly elaborate series of incentives which have displaced the incentive of private profit, yet give substantially similar behavior reactions. Profit, of course, never applies to anything but management. No industrial worker the world around—save in a few rare cases of genuine profit-sharing—has the slightest interest in his employer's balance sheet. What makes the manager of a Russian factory strive to increase production, lower costs, introduce more efficiency?

For one thing the manager instead of being driven by a group of hungry stockholders, as is so often the case in America, is driven by a hungry government. This government is Argus-eyed, it is informed by battalions of statistics and by a member of the Communist Party whom we found close to the manager in every factory. Oftentimes this member is himself the manager, and to date he needs no further incentive than the burning zeal to create a new heaven and a new earth which flames in the breast of every good Communist. It is something—this flame—that one has to see to appreciate. There is nothing like it anywhere in America, probably nothing like it anywhere in the world to-day. One would have to go back to Cromwell, or Mahomet, or St. Paul. Will it last? I do not know. All I can report is that after ten lean years it still scorches the face of the curious onlooker. So must the flaming sword of Allah have come over the plains from Mecca. No Communist in Russia is entitled to draw a salary greater than 225 rubles a month—a bare living of $112, with sometimes housing space provided. At any hour of the day or night a telegram may call him to an industrial post on the Pacific, on the Arctic, in a trackless desert. And he goes. . . . Human nature is a more complicated thing than as comprehended in the doctrines of the Manchester School.

For the manager who is not a member of the party, a financial incentive is provided, but within rigorous limits. He may be paid up to 600 rubles a month or $300. Very few achieve this lordly rate, however. What keeps him going primarily, is the very human desire to "beat yesterday," to join in the grand game of pulling Russian industry out of a sink hole. His face lightens, his personality visibly expands as he shows you his charts and curves with the line leading ever upward. He measures himself against the Gosplan quota, he takes pride in beating it; he takes pride in beating out another plant in the same industry. The chief of the Ukrainian Sugar Trust chuckled as he showed us an operating statement which carried more profit than a competing trust. Managers get no profit, but they like to keep out of the red, and as high in the black as they can. Also there is an elaborate system of honors, decorations and modest cash prizes for new inventions, new processes, improvements in operating method. The engineer of the Port of Odessa pointed out his pair of new grain loaders, invented by himself, with ill-concealed satisfaction and told of the favorable notices in the press, and the welcome 300 rubles.

When this period of rapid expansion—the journey up from nothing to something—is over, and the curves flatten from mountain contours to something more in the nature of a plateau—then will come the acid test. The plateau has not been reached, the game is still universal and bracing, and other than mercenary incentives for the present suffice.

In respect to the workers, we noted decidedly more interest in the job than is displayed by the normal American factory hand. More interest and less tangible efficiency. The Russians are a patient folk, but not precisely broken to the machine age. They have little genius for organizing, for contriving, for speeding up. They are pathetically eager to learn these habits; they will sit up all night to talk about them; they will gather eagerly around the American visitor ten deep in the shop to talk about them. But they have not the Yankee knack. The tradition of the East is all against it.

Meanwhile they do the best they can. Every factory has a "production committee" composed of workers whose duty it is to coöperate with the management in promoting efficiency. Nor is it a paper committee. New suggestions are constantly being forwarded. We saw the tabulated lists in factory after factory. The workers have really been converted to the idea of "rationalization" and mass production; they really feel that they are the owners of the industrial structure—as indeed they are—and that upon them depends an increase in living standards, and the meeting of the challenge of the hitherto superior efficiency of the West. They have accepted an almost universal system of piece-work; they watch each other for slackness—and woe betide him that is caught, they know where their industry fits into the general industrial picture, and what they have to do to meet the Gosplan yardstick. Their intelligence as a working group is remarkable, even as their daily output—while gaining all the time—is deplorably low judged by Western standards. But as a system of applied incentives, the Russian method affects the mind of the worker, particularly the younger man and woman, far more profoundly than any other I have seen in operation. It is not inconceivable that this mental stimulus may some day break the ancient working habits of the East.

Conclusion

In conclusion I should like to quote from a remarkable political document. It is the economic summary for the current year, based on the Gosplan and other government figures, and issued by the Plenum of the Communist Party in September, 1927. The party runs Russia; it is to its interest—according to all Western political principles—to boast of its achievements and to soft pedal its short-comings. But this party staggers under too much responsibility to take the normal course. It points out its achievements to be sure, but it also lists its economic failures just as forcibly. This is unheard of. I give the two lists not only because they are contained in a unique document, but because, by and large, they coincide with my own observations covering the strength and the weakness of the going economic structure, so far as I know anything about it. There are ten favorable items and ten unfavorable items as follows.

Favorable

1. The steady increase in industrial production. For the first eight months of 1927 the production of State industries increased about 20 per

cent. over the same period in 1926. This is an average for two kinds of production: (a) capital goods, which increased 29 per cent., and (b) consumable goods, which increased 17 per cent. (The accent on capital goods is well illustrated by these figures.)

2. The outlay of over $500,000,000 in 1927 for new industrial capital, including electrification.

3. The increase in real wages during the first nine months of 1927, accompanied by an improvement in the productivity of labor.

4. The turning point of high retail prices was reached in January, 1927. Since then retail prices have begun slowly to fall.

5. The stability of grain prices paid to the farmer during the year, and the decline in retail prices for grain products.

6. The increase in land cultivated for technical crops—sugar beets, etc.

7. The growing importance in trade of the coöperatives and the government stores as contrasted with the private trader. (Which may or may not be a healthy growth.)

8. The attainment of a favorable foreign trade balance.

9. A balanced federal budget.

10. The increasing purchasing power of the ruble; the increase in savings bank deposits on the part of the people at large.

Unfavorable

1. Considerable miscalculations in capital investment, particularly in respect to higher costs than were anticipated for new construction.

2. The slow progress made in restoring housing. (Furthermore the high cost of new housing necessitates relatively high rents as compared with the old housing, the result being that people are loath to move.)

3. The extremely slow rate at which industrial costs decline.

4. The high general level of prices for industrial goods despite all efforts, and the great discrepancy between wholesale and retail prices.

5. The difficulties in securing adequate raw materials.

6. A less than anticipated increase in the corn-growing area.

7. The fact that too much credit has been granted to large farmers, and to pseudo-agricultural coöperatives.

8. The slow increase in the facilities for railway transport.

9. The great disparity between the development of foreign trade and internal economy.

10. The large amount of unemployment particularly among unskilled workers and government trade employees, accompanied by a shortage of skilled workers.

This to my mind is a reasonably fair and honest statement of economic gains and losses. In the statement of losses particularly there is no blinking of the facts. It is difficult to conceive of the Republican Party, let us say, drawing up an equivalent bill of particulars after eight years in office.

6. INDUSTRIALIZATION AND COLLECTIVIZATION

Since Mr. Chase wrote the preceding section "Industry and the Gosplan" late in 1927, three years have elapsed. The Soviets have made steady progress in their industrial program far beyond his predictions. A new and more ambitious five-year-plan was projected in 1928 and on the whole has been carried forward with success. Indeed, the leaders of the Gosplan stated in August, 1930, that there is every indication that it will be completed in four years or even less. The chief aim around which Soviet effort has centered during the past year has been rapid industrialization and collectivization.

The gross production of Russian industry in 1930 as a whole is now expected to be over thirty per cent greater than the previous year and to double that under the Czar's régime. The terrific speeding up process has necessitated frequent revisions of production estimates. Originally the five-year-plan called for only 22,000,000 tons of oil by 1933, now it demands 38,000,000 tons. Similarly, the amount of coal required has been raised from 75,000,000 to 100,000,000 tons.

Concrete evidences of the progress made during 1930 are:

1—The completion in May of the new thousand-mile railroad connecting Turkestan and Siberia; opening up a vast new area.

2—The largest agricultural machine factory in Europe was finished in June at Rostov on the Don.

3—A large factory with a capacity of 50,000 tractors was completed in June at Stalingrad.

4—A new Ford plant with an annual capacity of 100,000 automobiles is being rushed to completion at Nishni Novgorod.

5—The largest electric plant in the world is partly constructed and should be ready by 1933. It will supply low cost electric power and good water over about 200,000 square miles, and should be capable of supporting an industrial population of 16,000,000 or over twice the population of our six New England States.

6—Two huge steel plants are under construction besides two more large tractor plants.

One of the chief difficulties encountered has been the low quality of the products of Soviet industry. For instance, one electrical factory during the first five months of 1930 received materials worth 1,361,000 rubles but 21.2 per cent proved defective and had to be returned.

In contrast to the United States where unemployment was marked in 1930, Russia had practically none among the unskilled workers and on April 1, 1930, the Commissar of Trade reported that the total number of unemployed was only just over a million, although this included 300,000 youths coming from the farms for the first time.

Besides industrialization, the Bolsheviks have instituted an intensive drive for the collectivization of agriculture. This means that every effort was used to persuade the peasants to abandon their small individual holdings and join together in large collective farms. Inducements were offered in the form of loans, tractors, and skilled management. In some cases overzealous Communist workers practically forced the peasants to join in this movement. By March, 1930, it was reported that 55 per cent. of the peasants were enrolled. The result was that the government could not supply tractors or capable experts fast enough. In March, therefore, Stalin published an article "Giddiness from Success" in which he rebuked those of his followers who had brought undue pressure on the peasants to join collectives and assured the peasantry that the movement should be voluntary. This was followed by appropriate resolutions of the Central Committee of the party. The result was that many peasants withdrew and took up individual farming. The Soviet Government reports that in August, 1930, about one-quarter of the peasant households remain on collective farms.

One great difficulty with the plan has been the extreme individualism of the Russian peasant who hates to take orders. He has a vague suspicion that the lazy peasant will profit from his labor. In many cases no equitable arrangement was made to compensate those peasants who brought with them live-stock and tools as over against those who did not. The managers of collectives were faced by the dilemma that if they were too strict the peasant members were alienated, if on the other hand, they allowed too much freedom, some of the peasants became lazy and unproductive.

One advantage of collectivization is that it does away with the strip system in which each peasant has his land divided into long strips separated by wasteful ditches. It also enables the use of tractors, large scale production and scientific management. The Communists hope that it may develop a more socialized outlook on the part of the peasantry. Already as a result of collectivization, *Izvestia,* the government newspaper, reported in July, 1930, that 1,700,000 agricultural and forest workers had joined the trade union.

It is still too early to say whether Russia will be successful in either

her industrialization or her collectivization program but America should watch the results with scientific care.

7. LABOR AND TRADE UNIONS

Besides the seven-hour day Russia has made other interesting experiments in behalf of labor, one of the most significant being social insurance.

(a) Temporary Disability.

Any worker who is sick or injured receives full pay, beginning immediately.

(b) Permanent Incapacity.

Any worker who is permanently incapacitated, either by illness, accident or old age, is entitled to receive full wages if an attendant is needed to care for him, three-quarters of his wages if he needs no attendant, and if he is only partially incapacitated, an equitable proportion of his former wage.

(c) Pensions to dependents of the deceased.

If a worker dies, any one dependent on him is provided for. If death resulted from an industrial cause one-third of the average previous earnings paid for one dependent, one-half for two dependents and three-fourths for three or more. If the death was from a non-industrial cause the proportion of the payments is two-ninths, one-third and four-ninths. All children are considered dependent up to sixteen years of age. The widow is considered a dependent if she is unable to work or has children under eight years of age.

(d) Birth and Burial Allowances.

Women workers are allowed two months' vacation with pay before and after giving birth to a child. They are given one-half of one months' wages to equip the child with clothes and to pay other expenses. As a nursing allowance they receive one-eighth of a month's salary for nine months.

An allowance is made for the expenses of a modest civil burial.

(e) Unemployment Insurance.

Highly skilled workers and juveniles beginning work are paid benefits regardless of the amount of time they have been working. Others, if they are members of the union, must have been employed for one year; non-union members for three years. The benefits are divided into three categories. To those who are skilled manual workers and salaried employees with a higher education one-third of the average wage is paid; semi-skilled and higher grade salaried workers receive one-fourth of the average, while the unskilled and all other salaried employees receive one-fifth.

(f) Vacations with Pay.

A worker who has been employed for at least five and one-half months is given two weeks' vacation each year with pay. Workers in unusually hazardous or difficult occupations—such as mining, glass working, iron and steel—receive one month. About six hundred thousand workers are sent each year by the unions and the Social Insurance Department for vacations in rest homes where all expenses are paid. Usually these workers are selected because they stand in greater need of physical rest than others.

In considering these features of the new Russian structure it must be remembered that wages in Russia are still low and that the corresponding benefits are also low. At the beginning of 1929 the average monthly wage for all industrial workers was $33.45.

One of the most significant features of the Russian development is the coöperation which the government has extended to organized labor. The following account presents the facts briefly:[21]

> The Soviet trade unions are revolutionary bodies, with constitutional preambles much like that of some of the militant socialist unions in America. They are not interested solely in a fair day's wage for a fair day's work. They stand on the basis "of the international class struggle of the proletariat," and aim "to foster the development of the world-wide revolutionary class struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and the realization of socialism through the proletarian dictatorship."
>
> The Soviet unions are thus more than "socialist unions" in the continental sense of the term, for they have already passed through their period of revolutionary conflict and are now devoted to the business of consolidating the state power of the workers and peasants and the building up of a non-capitalistic society.
>
> In addition to these general aims, the more immediate day-to-day objects of the unions at the present stage of their development are: To protect the economic and legal interests of their members and to improve their material conditions; to raise the general cultural level of the workers; to participate in the organization of production in their particular trade or industry.
>
> To carry out these aims, they make collective agreements with the employer, whether state trusts or private concerns. They help in the enforcement of the labor laws. They draft and secure the adoption of labor legislation. They organize special funds and traveling aid funds. They encourage the growth of mutual aid societies among their membership. They defend the workers before the various conciliation and arbitration boards and lead them in their disputes with both state and private manage-

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[21] Reprinted from *Russia after Ten Years,* Report of the American Trade Union Delegation to the Soviet Union, pp. 17-34. New York, International Publishers, 1927.

ment. They declare and lead strikes when necessary to achieve their ends. They work with governmental and coöperative institutions in the construction of houses, the organization of public health work, playgrounds, nurseries and similar institutions. They send their representative to sit on the various government bodies such as the Commissariat for Labor, the Commissariat for Health and the Commissariat for Education. They organize a wide variety of cultural activities and schools, and carry on an extensive journalistic and publishing work. They aid and assist the consumers' coöperatives.

In addition to these functions the Russian unions carry out the same line of routine activity as do progressive, energetic unions in any capitalist country—with this major distinction, they pay much greater attention to production and the development of industry. On this point the interests of the unions and the interests of the Soviet government are practically identical.

The total number of members in all the twenty-three national unions is now over 9,827,000. The largest group is industrial; next in line is the group working in government public and trading institutions. Those following are, in order, transportation workers, agricultural and forest workers and those engaged in the building trades.

In order of affiliated membership, the following unions stand at the head of the list: 1. Land and Forest; 2. Civil Service and Commercial employees; 3. Railroad workers; 4. Metal workers; 5. Textile workers; 6. Educational workers, and 7. Building workers. The first two have each over 1,000,000 members.

The great majority of the union members (7,045,800) live in Russia proper (R. S. F. S. R.); nearly 2,000,000 live in the Ukraine, and much smaller numbers in the less industrial districts.

The latest figures show that 92.7 per cent. of all the eligible workers of the country are in the unions. Possibly 50 per cent. of land and forest workers are in the union, namely, 1,120,000, but the total number of such workers hired by the individual farmers throughout the country is not definitely known.

The highest percentage of organization obtains among the art workers, the printing trades and medical workers (comparatively small unions), while the commercial workers, paper workers, leather workers and catering and hotel workers all have 95 per cent or over.

Strikes and Disputes

The first questions asked by labor men on arriving in Russia are: "Do the workers have the right to strike? How are labor disputes settled?"

We are satisfied that the workers have the legal right to strike, that there is no anti-strike law, and nothing resembling American injunctions to curb strikes and the activities of the unions. The hiring of strike-breakers is prohibited by law. Anti-labor judges, courts and government officials are naturally unknown, since the officials are also workers.

However, strikes are not frequent. This is because, as one of the workers told us, "We see no reason for striking against ourselves." From the general union point of view it is naturally desirable to avoid disputes when the costs are so clearly borne by the workers themselves. The Soviet government is a workers' régime, and trade unions participate in the government. The leaders are able to look upon strikes not as a weapon of class conflict, as in other countries, but rather as a warning signal that the unions are not responding to the desires of the workers. When a strike occurs, they quickly see to it that conditions out of which it grew are remedied and that where the local trade union officials are responsible for the situation they are either severely reprimanded or removed from office.

Of course, strikes in privately owned industries are quite another matter. The Russian unions are not slow to strike if they see their interests jeopardized by a private factory owner or concessionaire. There have been a number of such strikes in the last few years.

The organs of mediation and arbitration to take up and settle the disputes arising between workers and management both in government and private industry are, in their order of jurisdiction, the standardization-conflict committee in the factory, the mediation chamber, and the arbitration board. The function of each of these is suggested by its name. The decision of the final arbitration board is binding by law only on the management. The union can discipline its workers if they refuse to obey the decisions of the board, but the state itself cannot compel compliance with arbitration decrees.

Reports to the last congress of the trade unions in December, 1926, showed that the general betterment of the economic life of the workers in the government factories had substantially decreased both the number of strikes and the number of working days lost by strikes. The strikes which occurred were usually not extensive. They broke out in sections or department of plants and represented the protest of workers against certain conditions peculiar to the craft or department. The union, of course, had always tried to settle the strikes, and had succeeded in 75 per cent. of the cases. The remainder were settled through direct understandings between the strikers and the managements of the enterprises involved.

Are the Trade Unions Controlled by the State?

The unions have a very definite relationship to the State, but the government does not control the unions. It would be more accurate to say that the trade unions control the government. Yet neither statement expresses the truth. Under War Communism the trade unions were practically a branch of the State; membership was compulsory and dues were checked out of the pay envelope. But with the creation of the State trusts and corporations under the New Economic Policy, the unions took on defensive functions similar to those of unions in other countries.

The unions have always been clear in their avowal of their determination to support the Soviet Government in industrializing the country and in "building up Socialism." Believing in the philosophy and practice of Socialism, they naturally support the government they have created and defended with gun in hand.

When the Russian workers whom we met in factory, shop and mine were questioned as to whether their unions were "controlled" by the government, their answer was usually an amused smile or a complete failure to understand the point of view of the questioner. "It is *our* government. They are *our* unions," was the reply in many cases. "This is a dictatorship of the proletariat, not a capitalist country" was another. "Our government never broke a strike," or "There are no injunctions and anti-trade union laws in Russia." The workers look upon the unions as an independent aid to the government and upon the government as the instrument of the workers' power in the field of politics and international relations. Many of the trade union leaders hold important posts in the government, and the will of the Central Council of Trade Unions (C. C. T. U.) in the matter of oppointments to certain public offices is absolute and binding.

Trade Union Structure

There are only twenty-three national trade unions in Soviet Russia. All of these are organized on industrial lines. There is no such thing as a craft union, no carpenters' union, plasterers' union, a metal workers' weavers' union. There is a building workers' union, a metal workers' union, a textile workers' union, a printers' union, and so on. The Russian workers told us that their unions have profited by observing the craft unions in other countries as well as in their own where, even after the revolution of 1917, a wide variety of small craft unions had come into existence. They modeled their unions on industrial lines, apparently a necessity where workers control industry. However, in some of the unions there are special craft or departmental groups associated chiefly for scientific purposes, such as the engineering and technical sections of practically every national union.

The Factory Committee

The foundation stone in the trade union structural organization is the factory committee. These committees consist usually of three union members in a factory having from 25 to 300 workers, five members for those with 300 to 1,000; seven members for those from 1,000 to 5,000 and nine for all those having more than 5,000. The number is much greater in some unions, the Central Committee fixing the size. They are elected usually at general meetings of the factory workers where every worker, union or non-union, if he is eligible for the union, has the right to cast a vote. Voting is not by secret ballot but by a show of hands. Only union workers may be on the committee.

The factory committee has certain members, chosen by the committee itself, who devote their full time to the work, their regular wages being paid to them while engaged in this service. In a typical factory of more than 1,000 workers there is a factory committee of three, one member of which is usually called the president, another the secretary and the third usually the chairman of the sub-committee on the protection of labor.

The committees hold office for one year. However, their work may be reviewed and a new election held at the end of six months if the workers demand it. And in most unions the committee, or individual members of it, may be recalled and a new election held on request of one-third of the members.

In every factory having a factory committee we found the following sub-committees at work: protection of labor, culture, standardization-conflict, and production. A member of the committee usually heads each sub-committee. The other members are either from the committee or are appointed by it from the ranks of the workers.

The chief functions of the sub-committees are the following: The protection of labor committee carries on all the work connected with the protection of the worker against ill health and industrial accidents. It sees to it, for instance, that laws relating to sanitation and the guarding of machines are carried out to the letter. It directs the sending of workers to hospitals, rest homes and sanitariums; the erection and maintenance of communal baths and laundries; supervises children's institutions operated in connection with the factory; and interests itself in the establishment and maintenance of coöperatives and workers' apartment houses.

The culture (or education-culture) committee carries on a wide variety of activities intended to raise the cultural level of the workers, to increase their industrial qualifications and to enrich their lives, during work and leisure. It organizes classes, circles, lectures, concerts, movies, libraries, schools, clubs, sports and physical-culture activities, excursions, reading rooms, choirs, and theatricals. It takes charge of the expenditure of the money paid by the industry to the union for culture purposes under the collective agreement.

The standardization-conflict committee is usually represented on the workers' side by two or three of the most intelligent men in the factory. Upon it falls the heavy responsibility of bargaining for wage rates and settling disputes, either individual or collective.

Production committees are now at work in practically every industrial and transportation unit. They are usually composed of from 3 to 15 members chosen by the factory committee. They include active workers, representatives of management and the technical personnel. They carry out the production work described hereafter.

The factory committee plays a very important rôle in the workers' lives. It is subordinate to the higher trade union organs, but within its sphere it is the free and powerful agent of the workers, defending their rights and representing their everyday interests. Because of the nature of the Soviet State and the organization of economic life in Russia, factory councils in no other country have as much power or perform more vital services. They have no direct control or responsibility in management, but they operate in various ways to check those tendencies toward bureaucracy, which are especially dangerous in a Socialist State.

Factory Delegates

To keep the rank and file of the workers better informed concerning the activities of the factory committees and to bring forward more effectively the desires and demands of the workers, factories with more than 200 workers have factory delegates. These are chosen every six months by the workers—one delegate to about 10 workers. The delegates make formal written reports to the workers whom they represent and hold a general delegates' meeting twice a month. But the chief service of the delegate is to speak for his small group of workers and to make their influence felt on the factory committee and in its activities. He also interprets the acts and decisions of the factory committee to the rank and file. On January 1, 1925, there were 200,000 of these delegates in the U. S. S. R.; a year later there were over 870,000.

"Actives"

The active workers, or the "actives" as they are called, are those union members who hold some position of responsibility, no matter how low, in the trade union system. They are not the hired employees and elected officials of the trade union, but only those who are working in the plant. Most of them do full time work at their regular jobs and give their spare hours to union activity.

The number of those "actives" varies from union to union. Some unions claim as high as 13 per cent. of members in the ranks of the factory committee members, sub-committee members, dues collectors, delegates, club leaders, and others who make up the list of the "actives." The sugar workers' union, for example, claims 35,000 out of less than 100,000 members. There are nearly 2,000,000 "actives" in the whole U. S. S. R.

Separate Industrial Unions

Before estimating the character of the work carried on by the inter-union organizations we may note the structure of the 23 separate unions whose combined jurisdiction covers all those who work for hire on Soviet territory.

The factory committee, as we have noted above, is the primary organ of the union. The next highest organ varies in different unions. In Central Russia where the gubernia (province) is the larger geographical division, the uyezd is the next highest organ above the factory committee. (The uyezd might be said to correspond roughly to an American county, while a gubernia or province could be compared to a State.) The order of importance, then, would be—factory committee, county conference, provincial congress, and finally, the national or federal congress of the industrial union.

At its general meetings of workers each factory elects delegates to a county conference of the union. This conference, in turn, elects the county administration of the union. Above the county is the more important provincial administration, organized at annual congresses of delegates elected straight from the general meetings of the workers in the factories. These provincial congresses also elect delegates to the bi-annual congress of the national industrial union. The national congress in turn chooses a Central Committee which is the supreme power in the union between sessions of the congress. A full meeting of the Central Committee elects a presidium or group of officers who direct the work of the national union between sessions of the Central Committee.

The provincial department of the separate union has very important functions. In addition to receiving the dues from the factory committees, it directs all the work of the county under it as well as the work of the factory committees. It has the right to change or annul the work of these lower organs, just as the Central Committee of the national industrial union has the right to overrule the decisions of the provincial organizations if their decisions run counter to the lines of policy laid down at the national congresses. These provincial offices create their own cultural, wage, economic and organization departments. They also set up special unemployment registration bureaus, information bureaus, book distribution departments and libraries, statistical departments; legal aid bureaus, engineering and technical sections and similar bureaus on a gubernia-wide scale.

The national industrial unions, likewise, have the same departments and bureaus in operation, only they serve the whole U. S. S. R. and supervise the lower union organizations, including the provincial administrations. All the national unions have their headquarters in the Palace of Labor in Moscow, along with the offices of the Central Council of Trade Unions.

Inter-Union Organization

The highest organ of the trade union movement in the U. S. S. R. is the All-Union Congress of Trades Unions which meets every two years to decide general policies and to select an executive committee of about 170 members known as the Central Council of Trade Unions (C. C. T. U.). This council chooses a presidium to carry on its work between sessions of the council. The presidium, corresponding in a general way to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, puts into effect the policies determined upon at the congresses and at the sessions of the Central Council.

The Central Council coördinates and directs, in a general way, the work of the 23 vertically organized industrial unions already described. It also coördinates and leads the work of the lower inter-union organizations such as the Councils of Trade Unions in the provinces and other variously named territories of the U. S. S. R. For example, the Moscow Provincial Council of Trade Unions or the Ural Territorial Council of Trade Unions are under the general supervision of the C. C. T. U. Such a Council of Trade Unions unites all the separate unions in the given area. It represents the joint interests of the unions in its territory on various governmental and economic bodies where counsel with the unions is always taken.

The functions of such an inter-union body are similar to, though vastly more extensive, than those of a State Federation of Labor in the United States.

The 1,600 delegates to the All-Union Congress are chosen not at the lower inter-union congresses or at the national congresses of the separate industrial unions but at the lower provincial, or territorial, congresses of the separate unions. For each 10,000 members a union is entitled to one delegate. However, for the thinly populated sections of the country where no one union in a district contains 10,000 members, the delegates may be elected at the Inter-Union Congress.

The Distribution of Power in the Trade Unions

This rather complex structure is called in Russia "democratic centralism." In it the supreme power rests with the C. C. T. U. elected every two years at the All-Russian Congress of Trade Unions. All the individual national industrial unions and the lower inter-union bodies are subordinate to it and must obey its decisions. The next highest authority is the Central Committee of the national industrial union elected at the national congress of that union. A central committee has power over its subordinate provincial and other branches. Only the central committee can expel or discipline such a provincial organization. It cannot be done by a lower inter-union organization. As a matter of fact, the power to expel is seldom, if ever, exercised. It should be noted in this connection that the central committee of a national union cannot simply dissolve a local administration and appoint its own candidates to succeed the unsatisfactory officers. It must call a new congress of delegates elected directly from the workshop. The congress elects the new governing body.

The power to make collective agreements is vested usually in the higher bodies, such as the provincial, but the factory committee possesses the full right to discuss the agreement in advance and also to work out with the management of the enterprise the local piece rates and production standards. For those industries, such as railroads, which are operated on a national scale, the central committee of the national union will only sign the collective agreement after it has been fully threshed out by all the local union organs. Usually when the provincial organization makes the agreement, it receives its general instructions from the central committee of the national union and attempts to carry them out in accordance with the requirements of the local situation. Appeals over the appointment of a trust director, for example, arising between the provincial department of a union and a government trust, are usually carried up for settlement to the central committee of the national union and the higher economic organs.

Union Finances

The union member pays his dues, amounting to 2 per cent. of his earnings, to a voluntary collector appointed by the factory committee. The factory committee, in turn, gives the dues in full to the higher union body. The factory committee itself is supported by the enterprise, receiving a given percentage of the payroll. The total income of the Russian trade unions during the last year amounted to approximately 60,000,000 dollars.

The provincial union needs money for its various departments—cultural, wage-economic, organization, and protection of labor. It also sets aside reserves for cultural work and for unemployment. It pays to the national industrial union of which it is a part, from 5 per cent. to 25 per cent. of its income, and also 10 per cent. more to the inter-union organization. The amount of its income spent on administration is comparatively small. It is estimated that these provincial unions return nearly 50 per cent. of their funds for mass work and as contributions to various reserves and funds of immediate value to the workers.

The national industrial unions thus supported by underlying provincial organizations must in turn pay from 10 to 15 per cent. of their income to the Central Council of Trade Unions. They also set aside special funds for cultural work, aid for the unemployed, student assistance, medical work, rest homes and sanatoria. Small strike funds are also concentrated in their hands.

The aim of the unions is summed up in popular posters issued by some of the industrial unions reading "Less for the union apparatus, more for the service of the union members." In this connection it may also be noted that the salaries of the highest trade union officials in the areas like Moscow, where the cost of living is highest, is a little over 112 dollars a month. Provincial and lower officials receive less. There seems to be no tendency to develop high paid officials receiving substantially more than the skilled workers whom they represent.

Membership Qualifications

Any manual or clerical worker may join a union irrespective of race, sex, nationality, age, color or political views. Private employers of labor, self-employed persons and those who are unemployed before joining any union are not eligible for membership, nor are other classes who are deprived of the suffrage. A member of one union who by reason of occupation becomes a member of another union is transferred without any further admission fee into the other union and without any loss of seniority. No worker, however, can be a member of more than one union at a time.

Workers join the union voluntarily. There is no "closed shop" as the term is used in the United States. There is, however, a "preferential shop" in which under the collective agreement, the employer agrees to hire union members first if they can be secured.

Production Work of the Unions

"Union-management coöperation" is a fact in Soviet Russia. They condemn the B. & O. plan and other such experiments in America but have introduced in their own plants the most friendly collaboration between the technical managers and the trade unions. This emphasis on the "rationalization" of the industrial process characterizes the Russian unions from the smallest factory committee to the Federal Council of Trade Unions. At the last congress of the unions in 1926 the resolution of this question read in part as follows:

> "The industrialization of the country, the need for capital and the raising of the material and cultural standards of the workers requires the further raising of the efficiency of work. It requires the constant attention of the trade unions. . . . The working class and its trade unions by working steadily and methodically for the development of industry and the whole Soviet economy not only creates the conditions for the further raising of the material and cultural level of the worker's life, but also insure the success of the building of socialism in our country."

To carry out the resolutions on production, passed at this as well as at previous All-Russian congresses, the unions, through the factory committees, have organized in all state factories and enterprises production committees. There are over 50,000 of these committees in the U. S. S. R. They have also called production conferences, the purposes of which are to "draw more workers into the building of our economy," to teach them more about production, improve their qualifications, to stimulate invention and to establish a stronger social control over the economic organs of the state.

Everywhere we went we found these production conferences at work, composed of all the workers in the factory who show a voluntary interest in increasing and improving production. In the large factories these conferences are also organized on a sectional or departmental basis.

The production committee, composed both of workers and technical personnel, helps to arrange the program for the production conference and also sees to it that its resolutions are "put into life."

We found that these factory and departmental production committees have largely eliminated the old conflicts and frictions between the workers and the technical men. This is partly because the specialists have become absorbed in the fascinating job of industrial reconstruction, and partly because the unions have trained thousands of their own members for technical posts. Chain systems, mechanical operations, "straight-line" production, specialization and standardization are a part of their dream of an industrialized Russia, just as they are the topic of constant discussion and planning among the union workers.

In order to attract the engineers and technical specialists into the activities of the unions, special Engineering and Technical Sections are formed both by the national and district organizations. These sections usually hold national congresses prior to the calling of the regular union congresses. Although they have their own funds, they have no separate craft autonomy and work under the control of the central committee of the national union. Many of these sections publish special engineering and technical journals for their membership.

Summarizing the work of the production committees and conferences during the past two years, President Tomsky told us that they have "increased the output of the individual workers, facilitated inventions, and helped in the rationalization of industry and the organization of work by scientific methods. They serve to free the plants from many petty defects in the work and organization which has tended to decrease output."

This production work is one of the most stimulating and novel tasks of the unions in Russia. It is capable of unlimited development. And it brings out clearly the part that the trade unions are playing in the whole economy.

Cultural-Educational Work

We asked Tomsky, the president of the C. C. T. U. what was the most important achievement of the unions during the last few years. His answer was:

> "The most notable development in the Russian trade union movement is the tremendous progress of cultural activities. Through these activities great masses of the working class are aided in their cultural development. Tens of thousands are being prepared for participation in the government as well as in economic and trade union life. They are brought nearer to the realities of life, and that is the most important factor. Such a development exists nowhere else. No union abroad is doing a tenth of what we are doing in that direction."

After examining the cultural-educational work of the trade unions we are inclined to agree with Tomsky. From the bottom to the top of the union apparatus the cultural-educational work is interwoven. The union leaders insist that it is incorrect to think of workers' education as a separate departmentalized affair. They contend that every branch of union work is educational, and that every "active" in the union is really an educational worker, so that through all the departments of the union runs the educational function. The educational work is not regarded as something apart from the union to be patronized and supported like an outside agency. Instead it is a vital, organic part of the work of every department of the organization.

Without going into the details of the various methods used by the unions to give their workers political, trade union and technical education (the three categories into which the unions divide their teaching activities), we may summarize some of the services and facilities enjoyed by the average union member:

1. If he is illiterate he may attend school or night class for the "liquidation of illiteracy." The unions have made particularly good progress for the last few years in eliminating illiteracy among their members.

2. He may become a member of a factory or union club. Within these clubs, now organized in practically every factory, he may attend discussions or join a "circle" to study almost any subject in which he and his union brothers are interested, from spelling to international politics.

3. In the clubs and reading rooms are "red corners" where educational classes are carried on as well as amateur dramatics, radio, moving pictures, "loud readings" and "living papers" (the acting out of contemporary news).

4. Libraries are actively used by the workers, including factory libraries, those of separate unions, and inter-union libraries.

5. The worker secures reduced rates to regular theatres, concerts, entertainments and dramatic performances. He also participates in excursions to museums and other places of cultural interest. He participates in all sorts of theatrical and musical organizations and performances.

6. He frequents summer gardens belonging to his union where entertainments and lectures similar to those in the clubs are carried on.

7. He goes to both technical schools in the factory and special technical schools. Through the educational department of the union he qualifies to enter the labor high schools (Rabfacs) and higher educational institutions.

8. He takes part in all sorts of sports and physical culture games. Some of the finest moderate sized sport stadiums in Europe are owned by the Russian unions. The workers participate in handball, field events, water sports and gymnastics.

9. He participates in editing wall newspapers (special factory papers containing news of the shop, criticism of the management, the union leaders, etc.) and also acts as a correspondent to his own union journal. All unions have official organs, while some operate daily newspapers.

All the educational work is supported from two sources—the funds supplied by the government trusts and economic institutions under the collective agreement, and special funds built up by the unions out of a part of the income from members' dues.

One trade union leader expressed the attitude of the unions toward cultural-educational work when he said, "We plan to be with the workers every hour of the twenty-four. At work, at play, at home, in the club, the union seeks to penetrate and influence the life of the workers."

The cultural work of the unions is one of the most impressive achievements of the new Russia. There is no precedent or parallel for it anywhere in the world to-day.

8. THE TRANSITION TO THE NEW FAMILY [22]

Of all the changes made in the position of women, the most sweeping and far-reaching are the laws concerning marriage and divorce and the family, formulating for the first time the new revolutionary manner of life and providing the defense for mother and child lacking in the old laws.

At the conference of women workers two years after the October revolution, Lenin spoke as follows:

> "A complete revolution in the legislation affecting women was brought about by the government of the workers in the first months of its existence. The Soviet government has not left a stone unturned of those laws which held women in complete subjection. I speak particularly of the laws which took advantage of the weaker position of women, leaving her in an unequal and often even degrading position—that is, the laws on divorce and children born out of the wedlock, and the right of women to sue the father for the support of the child. . . . And we may now say with pride and without any exaggeration that outside of Soviet Russia there is not a country in the world where women

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[22] Reprinted from Smith, Jessica, *Women in Soviet Russia*, pp. 90-104. New York, Vanguard Press, 1927.

have been given full equal rights, where women are not in a humiliating position which is felt especially in every day family life. This was one of our first and most important tasks. . . .

"Certainly laws alone are not enough, and we will not for a minute be satisfied just with decrees. But in the legal field we have done everything required to put women on an equal basis with men, and we have a right to be proud of that. The legal position of women in Soviet Russia is ideal from the point of view of the foremost countries. But we tell ourselves plainly that this is only the beginning. . . ."

The decrees on marriage and divorce of December, 1917, were codified into law in July, 1918. The years that followed brought changes that could not have been foreseen by the authors of the codex, and a revised code based on the development of life and customs during the past nine years went into effect on January 1, 1927. Since the marriage laws are from day to day vitally affecting the lives of the people, and bringing about tremendous changes, and in turn being modified and adapted as some aspect of them proves unworkable, I shall sketch the main provisions of the original marriage code before taking up its revisions.

It is perhaps necessary at the outset to emphasize that the Soviet government, however varying the ideas of its individual members as to the form relations between men and women may take in the future, has preserved the family formed by the monogamous marriage as the fundamental social unit, and considers that except in special cases, mothers are still better adapted than the State for the care of babies.

Brandenburgski of the *Norkamyust* (Commissariat of Justice), states the position thus: "The family which has formed a number of obligations and rights between husband and wife, parents and children, will undoubtedly disappear in time, and be replaced by a State organization of social education and social welfare. But since as yet this does not exist, the Soviet State places mutual obligations on members of the family."

While Lunacharsky, Commissar of Education, who writes and talks a great deal on this subject, says:

"We hate the bourgeois family, but from this the conclusion must not be drawn that men in the revolutionary movement should not have families, nor the women bear children. . . . The main kernel of society, which must be in the center of our attention, is the family. . . . Whether there will be a free family, without a head, or whether the family will break up entirely, we do not decide in advance. In a Socialist society individual differences will not be eliminated, nor do we strive for that, and probably there will be different forms of the family."

The first marriage law of Soviet Russia recognized only civil marriage. No attempt was made to abolish the religious ceremony, it was simply stripped of all legal significance. At a matter of fact most of the peasants and many townspeople continued to be married in church. The priests, however, have refused to perform the ceremony without a certificate from *Zags,* as the registration office is familiarly called from its initials.

It costs nothing to be married or divorced in Russia beyond the few kopeks charge for any act of registration. In the cities there is always a long queue of strangely assorted couples waiting at the Registry clerk's desk, and the ceremony, consisting of an examination of their identification documents, a questioning of the bride and groom as to whether they are entering the marriage state voluntarily, and writing the names in the Book of Marriage, takes just twenty minutes. A Russian friend of mine tells me that when she was married in Leningrad, the clerk expressed great disapproval over the fact that this was the seventh visit of the young lady in front of her. He argued with her for some time, while his nose-glasses kept tumbling off until he tied them around his head with a string. But in the end, the girl acquired her seventh husband.

There has been some feeling that the act of registration would mean more, and compete more effectively with the lengthy and pompous church wedding, if it were not quite such a casual affair. In some places a special room has been set aside for the purpose, and the head of the Department instructed to officiate rather than one of the clerks. "Red Weddings" have satisfied more fully the demand for something to take the place of the old ceremony. A regular ritual for these has been developed in many factories. The bride and groom sit on a red draped platform, attended by fellow union members and representatives of the women's organization. The head of the factory committee is master of ceremonies. The pair pledge themselves to work mutually to raise the production of the factory, and suitable speeches are made, followed by an entertainment or refreshments. This ceremoney is followed in due course of time by the *Octobrina,* in place of the old christening where the helpless babe is plunged three times face downwards into an icy bath, and the priest brandishes the cross and spits out evil spirits. In the Octobrina the factory committee again officiates, the child is dedicated to the Soviet State, and instead of being named for one of the saints is christened "Lentrozina," for Lenin, Trotsky and Zinoviev, or "Era" if it is a girl "Rem" for Revolution, Electrification and Moscow, "October Twenty-fifth," or some other appropriate name if it is a boy.

Russians are full of ceremony. The simplest meeting must have its formally elected presidium in addition to the chairman and secretary. Speeches, questions and discussion must follow a rigid routine, and culminate in a resolution and protocol. All transactions must be accompanied by elaborate "Acts." The Soviet leaders, aside from having some of this in their own bones, have been quick to see the advantage of ceremony in aiding new social forms to take root among the people, and have encouraged this tendency toward revolutionary ritual.

To return to the marriage code. Originally it was required that a common marriage name be adopted which might be that of either bride or groom, or a combination, but in deference to the Lucy Stoners of both sexes, a later decree provided that they might either choose a common name or keep their pre-marriage names.

Marriage were annulled if it was discovered that the couple were below the marriage age of sixteen for the women, and eighteen for the men, and also if consent had been given under pressure, or either side was in an "irresponsible" condition at the time of marriage. Polygamy was prohibited, and it was made a criminal offense to conceal the fact of one marriage in contracting a second. Marriage was forbidden only to the feeble-minded or mentally unfit, and between parents and children, and brothers and sisters.

Divorce was made completely free. If husband and wife mutually desired it, it was done by a stroke of the pen in the Registration office, but the decree had to be granted through the court if only one wished it, since questions of support and care of children were usually involved. In any case there was no question of proving either side "guilty" of anything at all, and no explanation or reason was required.

Since there has been a vast ignorance of these laws, particularly among the peasants, a widespread system of information bureaus and legal advice has been set up throughout the country, and the Narkomyust has instructed its village departments to pay special attention to the interests of the women peasants, since conditions in the village as a rule left them unprotected. Questions of support must be handled free of charge and made the first order of the day, and even before the decision has been reached, the court has the right to order certain sums to be paid for support.

Certain negative points which might be considered superfluous in a revolutionary marriage code, were emphasized by way of contrast with the old code. Thus it was specifically stated that a wife need not follow her husband if he changed his residence. Citizenship of either man or woman was not affected by marriage. In the original code no community of property was created by marriage. Any agreement between husband and wife regarding property was legally recognized providing it did not infringe on the rights of either. Husband and wife were made mutually responsible for each other's support, providing one was in need, and the other in a position to give the support. This applied after divorce until a "change of circumstances," that is, a new marriage or a new job.

The stigma of "illegitimacy" was abolished, and children of unmarried parents given exactly the same rights as children born in wedlock. The unmarried mother could inform *Zags* three months before the birth of the baby of the name and residence of the father. If the latter offered no objection or proof to the contrary within two weeks, he was assumed to have accepted parenthood, and was held liable for the child's support. This also applied to the married woman whose husband was not the father of the child. The code provided for the following procedure in case the man in question objected to having fatherhood thrust upon him:

"If the court then finds that the relations of the man designated by the mother of the child have been such that in the natural course of events he would become the father of the child, it definitely establishes the fact of his fatherhood, at the same time determining his share of the expenses connected with pregnancy and birth and the further support of the child."

The name given to the maintenance the woman receives in such cases is *alimenta*, and to the men who have to pay it, they quote the old saying, "He who likes coasting must carry his sled up hill." The practice of the courts has been to take one-third of the man's salary. The position of the mother is always considered, and the extent to which the man is actually able to pay and still retain a subsistence minimum for himself. If he has another family, their needs also are considered.

A large proportion of all the cases coming up in the city courts have to do with alimenta, and about one-third of all the cases in the villages. A much larger proportion of the population is affected in the city than in the country because peasant girls have a greater fear of disgrace and are therefore less apt to demand alimenta.

This law has completely transformed the general attitude toward the unmarried mother. In the old days the young girl who lost her virginity before marriage was ruined for life. Sometimes she killed herself rather than face the consequences; sometimes she killed the baby. If discovered she was driven from home, or her honor "saved" by a timely marriage. In any case the whole affair was hushed up by the outraged family. Now she goes boldly to court and demands alimenta. The court asks intimate questions which she answers frankly, and the proceedings are published in the paper where all the world may see. Not, however, as a sensational betrayal or breach of promise story, for Russian papers do not consider such things news, but in a section in the back of the paper entitled "the courts" where the essential facts are reported. The unmarried mother is no longer a shamed outcast, but a self-respecting individual with a right to demand that the father share the burden of supporting the child.

The law permitted children to decide on their own name, citizenship, and religion when they reached the age of fourteen. Until that time the parents decided, or failing agreement, the court. If the parents could not agree on the religion, the child was considered to have no religion at all until old enough to choose for himself.

Parents were required to support their children, look after their proper mental and physical development, and prepare them for some useful activity. Contrary to the current conception outside of Russia, the law required that parents keep their children with them. Children could be sent away from home for training or teaching, but could not be hired out without their own consent. Children were also required to support helpless or needy parents not receiving support from the government. Adoption was forbidden.

The conventional will has given way in Russia to a legal inheritance provision whereby the wife and any relations dependent on the deceased for support receive equal portions of the property. When the amount is insufficient to support all those having legal claims, the most needy must be taken care of first. Wills are permitted in cases where equal distribution would be obviously unfair, but even then only in favor of legal heirs. The law originally gave control of property not exceeding 10,000 rubles to the wife, the remainder going to the State. In February, 1926, however, inheritance was decreed unlimited, but taxed on an ascending scale which reaches 90 per cent. for a sum exceeding 500,000 rubles.

This, then, is the legal basis on which the family has been developed during the first nine years of the Revolution. The courts, not being bound by precedent, soon found that they had to base their decisions on circumstances which had in some cases been created though not provided for by the law itself. Within a few years after its passage it was generally recognized that the law was already out of date, and the jurists drafted a new law which they presented in the fall of 1925. The new provisions aroused such a storm of protest that the draft was sent throughout the country for discussion.

When Russians once get to talking there is no stopping them, and there was nothing left unsaid on this question. But in spite of all this public airing of intimate family laundry, it is still impossible to draw any clear picture of what family life in Russia is to-day. By a careful choice of the facts that came out of the discussions you could prove that Communists had introduced polygamy, that they killed their babies, that immorality was flourishing as nowhere in the world before, that the family had been abolished, that a régime of complete asceticism had been inaugurated, that Communist women were refusing to have babies, that all women were being forced to have a great many babies, or almost anything else you wanted to prove.

Trotsky, in his little book, *Problems of Life,* gives the best picture I have found of what is going on in the family:

> "Family relations," he writes, "those of the proletarian class included, are shattered. . . . It is clear to all that some big process is going on, very chaotic, assuming alternately morbid or revolting, ridiculous or tragic forms, which have not yet had time to disclose their hidden possibilities of inaugurating a new and higher order of family life. . . .
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> "The husband, torn away from his usual surroundings by mobilization, changed into a revolutionary citizen at the civic front. A momentous change. His outlook is wider, his spiritual aspirations higher and of a more complicated order. He is a different man. And then he returns home to find everything there practically unchanged. The old harmony and understanding with the people

at home in family relationships is gone. No new understanding arises. The mutual wondering changes to mutual discontent, then into ill-will. The family is broken up.

"The husband is a Communist. He lives an active life, is engaged in social work, his mind grows, his personal life is absorbed by his work. But his wife is also a Communist. She wants to join him in social work, attends public meetings, works in the Soviet or Union. Home life becomes practically non-existent before they are aware of it, or the missing of home atmosphere results in continual collisions. Husband and wife disagree. The family is broken up.

"The husband is a Communist. The wife is non-party. The husband is absorbed by his work; the wife, as before, only looks after her home. Relations are 'peaceful' based, in fact, on customary estrangement. But the husband's committee—the Communist "cell"—decrees that he should take away the ikons hanging in his house. He is quite willing to obey, finding it but natural. For his wife it is a catastrophe. Just such a small occurrence exposes the abyss that separates the minds of husband and wife. Relations are spoiled. The family is broken up.

"An old family. Ten to fifteen years of common life. The husband is a good worker, devoted to his family; the wife lives also for her home giving it all her energy. But just by chance she comes in touch with a Communist Women's organization. A new world opens before her eyes. Her energy finds a new and wider object. The family is neglected, the husband is irritated. The wife is hurt in her newly awakened civic consciousness. The family is broken up."

Everyone who has been in Russia since the revolution has seen endless variations of such cases. One of them is going on under my very eyes. A Communist on the staff of the farm has a wife who, while not politically minded, is very intelligent and has read a great deal of Communist propaganda about the emancipation of women. She finds it dull to sit at home all day, and wants a job. Her husband says he wants a home, not a boarding-house.

Many families have gone on the rocks as a result of material conditions. A perfectly happy couple are separated indefinitely. The husband goes for a job to another city. The wife has a job where she is, and remains. Life is dull and lonely and one or both find other companions. In another case the husband gets an important job in a government trust, hobnobs with "Nepmen," begins to live highly, gives frequent parties, expects his working-woman wife to act and dress the part. Sometimes a peasant is promoted to a city job and his peasant wife of twenty years standing is out of place.

There is also the family in which the husband and wife are held together by mutual interest in the revolution and in rebuilding their country. I have known a number of such families, and in general they give an impression of domestic felicity that compares quite favorably with that of families I have known which have not been exposed to the disrupting influences of revolution and freedom of divorce.

Comrade Smidovich is a good example. She is a true and tried old Bolshevik who was formerly the head of the Genotdel and is now one of the three women members of the Control Commission of the party. She took me into her home in the Kremlin one day. She herself might be someone's grandmother rocking away on the porch, benignly watching the children play from over the rims of her spectatcles. Her gray hair is pulled back from her forehead in a neat little knot, her twinkling eyes behind her silver rimmed spectacles are full of understanding and wisdom, her withered cheeks glow with a health that few of her generation have been able to keep. Her husband presided over the Sunday morning breakfast table like any gentle old patriarch. There were three children, a fresh faced girl of fourteen, two shy older sons, and two cousins. Their laughter filled the large, low-ceilinged room in the little house where Peter the Great used to play soldiers. The children adored both their parents, and hung on them every minute—"Mamushka, mamushka" the girl kept saying, "when will you leave off your stupid work and come for a walk with me?"

It seemed hardly necessary to ask Comrade Smidovich what she thought the family life of the future should be.

"Of course," she told me, "we older Communists believe that it is best to love one person and stick to him. It is harder for us than for other people to change around, because the ties we form are stronger. . . . It is no light thing to break up a union that is based on a life-time of struggle together for a common aim. What we seek first is a comrade—one whose thoughts and feelings we can share. If that feeling of mutual love goes, the marriage relation of course must stop. As for the future, we know that new economic forms will create new forms of human relationships. Some of them we are consciously shaping—others can only be formed as life itself proves which forms are best. Certainly we have no use for the old form of bourgeois family based on the economic subjection of women."

I asked her what she thought of institutional care of children.

"We are still far too poor to give the children the social training they should have," she answered, "therefore the family must be preserved as the nucleus to train the child if for no other reason. There is no question that if we had well-equipped, well-run institutions for children, they would be better off than they are in the majority of homes. I love my own children, but after all, how much do I see of them? I am at work all day, and usually in the evenings too. Sunday is my only free day. If they were in a Childrens' Home they could come to me in my free time, and meanwhile they would be getting better training and better care than I can give them, and they would be living a more stimulating life."

Side by side with these, remains the old family that will stick together for better or worse, held down by the weight of the past, where all the old traditions persist—where women are still not only slaves, but content to remain so, where the women feel that when their husbands cease to beat them, they are no longer loved.

Since the changes that have shaken the towns and cities so profoundly have penetrated far more slowly into the villages, most often this old type of family is to be found there. The village household is more permanent than the city family could be. The economic factor operates more strongly in the village than in the city as a cementing element; for rearrangement of the peasants' household is not such a simple thing, and the problems of redistribution of land and division of property usually holds the family together. But even in the villages the change has been stupendous. First the war, revolution, and famine shook them out of their old ruts, then the dawning realization of the women that it was no longer necessary to submit to the cruelty of a hated husband. More and more peasant women are bringing complaints against their husbands into court, and the peasant no longer dares to beat his wife to pulp, for the Genotdel has its representatives in every village to advise the peasant women how they can get redress or divorce.

III. SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE UNITED STATES

America's relationship with Revolutionary Russia has been what one would expect when two diametrically unlike organisms react to each other. In our treatment in this section differing points of view are presented for analysis. First, an account of how propaganda was used in America by the anti-Bolsheviki, then an appeal which Lenin made to American workers. This was written after thousands of American soldiers had been sent against Soviet Russia, some to fight Russians amid the snow and ice of the North, others to guard the monarchistic railroad lines in Siberia. This letter is followed by brief descriptions of the history of America's relations with Russia and an official statement of our policy by the Department of State. Finally we have three careful appraisals of revolutionary movements in general and of Communism in particular by students of sociology and political theory. These analyses bristle with implications which America might weigh.

1. THE POISON GAS ATTACK [23]

The bulk of the Allied peoples work for their living and had therefore no strong impulse to rush to the rescue of the expropriated Russian proprietors. Naturally they resented being left in the lurch by Russia at the crisis of the war; while the French had the added grievance of the offhand repudiation of the huge Russian foreign debt. But they would not have consented to pour out blood and treasure in settling the domestic affairs of Russia had they not been thoroughly deceived as to the nature and prospects of the Soviet régime. Accordingly the emigrés and their sympathizers abroad waged the greatest and most successful campaign of misrepresentation that mankind has ever seen. We cannot anticipate to what heights mendacious propaganda may rise in the future, when control of the agencies for disseminating impressions and ideas may be even more centralized than it is to-day; but so far the anti-Bolsheviks hold the world record for the quantity production and marketing of untruth.

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[23] From Ross, E. A., *The Russian Soviet Republic* (New York, The Century Co., 1923), pp. 265-285.

The freshet of lies began in the summer of 1917, when Bolshevism lifted its head on the horizon, rose rapidly after the Brest-Litovsk peace, fairly rioted after the Armistice when the emigrés saw no hope of getting back to their estates save with the aid of foreign bayonets, and began to subside only in 1920 when the volume of truthful testimony about Russia by distinguished foreign visitors somewhat spoiled the market for the lurid products of the emigré imagination. I am not blaming the emigrés for circulating rumors, which possibly in many cases they themselves believed. No doubt under the same circumstances most of us would do the same. Nor do I set up any comparison between Whites and Reds in the matter of veracity. The latter were arch-propagandists certainly, but we do not know to what extent they circulated whole-cloth lies. The main difference is that their propaganda *did not reach us* as did that of the anti-Bolsheviks.

The dispossessed proprietors resorted to deception as their proper weapon. How they might look at it is brought out in an experience of Miss Louise Bryant. Just after the Bolshevik *coup d'état* the correspondents in Petrograd were handed out "the wildest yarns" by the bourgeois Committee on Saving the Country and the Revolution. "Once," she says, "I went to Mayor Schroeder and complained. 'At home,' I said, 'a politician wouldn't do that. He would really be afraid to tell a reporter a deliberate story. Now the other night you told me that the prisoners in Peter and Paul were being massacred and I went way out there at two o'clock in the morning and found them sleeping peacefully in their beds.' He stroked his beard and looked serious, righteous almost. 'Well,' he said, 'the Bolsheviks have all the force of arms on their side, and we have, after all, only the moral force.' "

The hearings of the subcommittee of the United States Senate on Bolshevik Propaganda (Overman Committee) in February and March, 1919, afforded the anti-Bolsheviks a coveted opportunity to get their fairy-tales before our people. Among their choicest products were the following: (1) that members of the Women's Battalion of Death had been violated after they had surrendered to the Bolsheviks on the occasion of the November overturn; (2) that the Bolsheviks had sent emissaries to China to recruit Chinese and bring them through Turkestan to serve as Red Guards; (3) that the Red Army was largely trained by German officers; (4) that the Bolsheviks imprisoned and put to death men from no other motive than their having too much intelligence for their purposes and that this was in pursuance of the policy known as "the leveling of intelligence"; (5) that the Bolsheviks took people out of prisons and shot them simply in order to make room for new batches of arrested; (6) that defenseless bourgeois women were made by the Bolsheviks to give up their two- or three-room apartments and get out on the street without a place to lay their heads; (7) that the Bolsheviks seized a thousand barrels of food belonging to the American Red Cross in Russia; (8) that this American Red Cross denied food to necessitous members of the American colony in Petrograd; (9) that whenever the forces of the Archangel expedition were compelled to fall back the Bolshevist troops massacred the people in the reoccupied territories; (10) that the minute the Allies occupied Archangel the North Russian Union Labor Corporation, composed of ten thousand woodchoppers, offered its services to the Allied troops; (11) that Colonel William B. Thompson, first head of the American Red Cross had spent more than one million dollars on behalf of the Bolsheviks, the fact being that he had patriotically spent that sum from his private fortune in propaganda designed to uphold the tottering Kerensky government; (12) that the Yaroslav revolt of the Whites in July was put down by German officers and prisoners after the Red Guard had failed to put it down; (13) that the Bolshevik leaders were "living in palaces, riding around in automobiles, and generally enjoying that kind of life which the very rich in the rest of the world are able to enjoy"; (14) that the Bolsheviks released all criminals and incorporated many of them into the Red Guard; (15) that the Soviet Government would have collapsed long ago but that "They noticed a certain hesitation and, perhaps, lack of unity in the policy of the Allies"; (16) that the Red Terror—which followed the shooting of Lenin and Uritzky on August 30, 1918—began when the Bolsheviks seized the reins of power, November 7, 1917; (17) that the Red Terror began in order to avenge the assassination of the German Ambassador Mirbach in July; (18) that the Allied invasion of Russia from the East and from the North had nothing to do with the Red Terror; (19) that in the Red Army there were sixty thousand Chinese and one hundred thousand released criminals; (20) that Trotsky had ordered that under certain circumstances the archives of the Russian Navy be turned over to certain German officers; (21) that in the autumn of 1918 90 per cent. of the peasants and three-quarters of the workmen were anti-Bolshevik; (22) that the Bolsheviks quartered hundreds of their soldiers and sailors in a large boarding-school for girls, not allowing the girls to be removed; (23) that in a public place Lunacharsky, commissar of education, advised a group of school girls twelve and sixteen years of age to go out into the street and get themselves each a bridegroom as the prostitutes were doing; (24) that the Lettish soldiers understood that they could break into houses with impunity and have all the women they wanted; (25) that hundreds of priests and officers, arrested and being taken on barges to Kronstadt, were tied together in pairs and thrown overboard; (26) that of 388 members of the Soviet of the Northern Commune (Petrograd) in Smolny Institute in December, 1918, 371 were Jews, and 265 were from the lower East Side of New York.

It cannot be proved that every one of the above statements is false, but, in view of the large volume of truthful testimony now available, it is probable that they are all baseless.

Turn now to the false reports about Russia which were injected into the public mind by means of the newspapers. The hotels in the border countries of Russia were filled with the despairing Russian noblemen and factory-owners, some of them with münchhausen imaginations, who passed their tedious leisure in concocting venomous lies about the Bolsheviks, which they then proceeded to palm off on foreign newspaper correspondents with an *impressement,* a wealth of circumstantial detail and an abundance of forged documentary proof which defied skepticism.[24] The too-confiding correspondents put these yarns on the wire and on the morrow they were poisoning the minds of millions of honest folk who earnestly desired to do the right thing about Russia. For more than two years these figment-factories operated with huge success, and it is owing to them that the Allied Governments, determined to crush the socialist republic, were allowed to pursue a policy of armed intervention in Russia which otherwise public opinion would have condemned.

So far as these lies are couched in terms of personal experience they cannot be refuted. If a *pomieschik* spins a yarn of arson and murder by Bolsheviks on his estate and under his eyes, if a mother superior recounts infamous proposals made by the commissar to her nuns, how can you show up the informant? So the only lies that can be noticed here are *refutable* lies. From their number let the reader infer how many of the other kind were put into circulation.

Nor can we take up one by one the lies which were presently exposed by the progress of events. Thus, in the course of a little over two years "The New York Times" reported the fall of Petrograd six times, announced at least three times more that it was on the verge of capture, burned it to the ground twice, twice declared it in absolute panic, starved it to death constantly, and had it in revolt against the Bolsheviks six times, all without the slightest foundation in fact. Tamerlane never treated a conquered city worse than Petrograd has been treated in the columns of the "Times."

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[24] In his report as member of the official Bullitt mission in the spring of 1919, Captain Pettit remarks: "Most of the stories that have come from Russia regarding atrocities, horrors, and immorality are manufactured in Viborg, Helsingfors, or Stockholm."

A writer in "The Nation" of March 6, 1920, shows up the kind of "news" which "The New York Times" and the Associated Press gave the world about Lenin. On January 17, 1918, they announced that some one had fired four shots at him. On February 18, the Associated Press chronicled an attempt to kidnap him. Two days later came news from London that Finland had heard that Lenin had fled. Next, without taking the trouble to replace Lenin, the "Times" made known that Lenin had dismissed Trotsky. On June 29 Moscow was reported taken in an exclusive special to the "Times" and the Red leaders were once more in flight. Again in the headlines of August 12 we read, "Lenin May Seek Refuge in Berlin; Prepares for Flight with Trotsky as Red Régime Totters." Next day it said, "Red Leaders Flee; Reach Kronstadt; Entire Bolshevist Government Escaping from Moscow." Three days later they fled again. On October 26 the "Times" reported Lenin in prison. On December 9 we read, "Red Leaders Ready to Flee to Sweden." A week later Lenin was reported "Ready to give up," as who wouldn't be after spending so much time fleeing? On January 3, 1919, it came out that his train was captured but that he had escaped. Six days later it appeared that Trotsky had proclaimed himself dictator and locked Lenin up. A week later the "Times" declared that he was in Barcelona, Spain. Soon a definite break was declared between the Bolshevist leaders, and on April 22 a "Times" special made known that the proletariat was plotting against Lenin. May 28 saw the Soviet chiefs in flight again, and on June 7 Lenin was once more "tired of the struggle."

This is ridiculous, but not very harmful. Far graver were those broadspread misrepresentations of the new regime which built up in the public mind an abhorrence of Soviet Russia that made it well nigh impervious to the truth when the truth began to filter through. Taking up again the tale of lies:

(27) In a letter to the London "Times" Trepov, one-time prime minister of Nicholas II, is quoted as relating "how the Chinese who perform the executions at 50 rubles a head to enable the Terrorists to hold their own, sell the flesh of their victims for human consumption, passing it off as a veal at fabulous prices." No one has ever had the impudence to tell this to any of the foreign visitors in Russia. . . .

(49) However, the crowning slander, the lie that is among lies what the Amazon is among rivers and the Matterhorn among peaks, was not born in the fancy of an emigré. I refer to the "nationalization of women." This, happily, it is needless to refute now that the United States Department of State says (February 28, 1919), "The rumor as to the nationalization of women is not true," while Mme. Breshkovskaya denies that in Russia women have been made common property and Mr. Harold Wil-

liams, anti-Bolshevik leader, states: "I have made particular inquiries among friends recently arrived from Russia as to the alleged nationalization of women and they all assure me positively that they have never heard or read of such a decree. It is certain that the Central Bolshevik Government has issued no order of the kind and if Anarchists in Smolensk, or school boys in some other provincial town have printed abominable productions. the Central Government cannot be held responsible."

How, then, did the story start?

It rests upon two "decrees," one said to have been issued in Saratov, the other in Vladimir. Both of them with their nauseating details have been avidly circulated all over the world. The former "decree" was posted throughout Saratov as "a proclamation of the Free Association of Anarchists of the City of Saratov in compliance with the decision of the Soviet of Kronstadt regarding the abolition of the private possession of women." The Anarchists of Samara promptly put out a proclamation denouncing it as *provocatsia,* i.e., a lie intended to discredit their cause. The matter was investigated on the spot by two trustworthy Americans, O. M. Sayler and Jerome Davis, and it appears that the famous "decree" was invented by opponents of the Anarchists, either Bolsheviks or bourgeois, in order to damn them with the public.

There was another "decree" somewhat similar published in the "Izvestia" (News) of Vladimir. The editor of a reputable British magazine, the "New Europe," confounded this paper with the official organ of the Moscow Government ("Izvestia") and on October 31, 1918, charged that in Russia women had been nationalized. On March 13, 1919, the "New Europe" explained the origin of its error and said, "We desire to withdraw unreservedly the imputation and to express our regret for the mistake." On March 15, Mr. Sayler in "The New Republic" and Mr. Jerome Davis in "The Independent" showed the fraudulency of the "decrees." Yet so dear was the story to our anti-Bolsheviks that in August one of our great women's magazines circulated it as the truth, and even in December, 1919, General Leonard Wood, aspirant for the American Presidency, was using the yarn in his speeches! Even in 1921 Ambassador Francis prints it for a fact, while William J. Burns is said to retail it still.

The emigrés had missed a chance in not themselves inventing the story, but they atoned by their zeal in confirming it. In March they informed the London "Times" correspondent that Stuchka, president of the Bolshevist government of Lettland, had issued a proclamation nationalizing women. The "Bulletin Russe" of May 15 pretended to quote from the Bolshevist "Krasnaya Gazeta" that the nationalization of women had worked so badly in the province of Vladimir that the commissary and the local soviet had suspended it and appointed a committee of women to report on its results, among which were many murders and suicides. This is pure fiction. But something richer was to come from the imaginative South. On June 25, 1919, Denikin's Commission of Inquiry at his capital, Ekaterinodar, reported that a commissioner named Bronstein had lived in that town in the spring of 1918, that twenty-five young girls were carried off to him at the palace, and that authorizations of the following kind were issued to high-up Bolsheviks:

MANDATE

The bearer of this certificate, Comrade Karaseeff, has the right to socialize 10 women between the ages of 16 and 20 in the town of Ekaterinodar, according to Comrade Karaseeff's own choice.

Signed
(Commander-in-Chief) Ivastscheff.

Now, for ten months Denikin had been settled in Ekaterinodar, and for seven months Allied officers and correspondents had been coming and going. It is strange that a story so horrifying never once in all that time came to their ears. The likelier explanation is that the "nationalization of women" yarn was considered a good thing to play up to. This local version was good for half a column in the London "Times."

This last, be it remarked, sank to depths of lurid mendacity touched by no American newspaper. Here are a few of its typical head-lines:

Vladimir Lenin the Terrible
The Blood Test
Outrages on School Girls
Soviet Child Victims
Martyrs for Christ
Bolshevist Blood Lust
General Corruption at Moscow
Cats and Dogs as Food
Middle Class to be Destroyed
War Against Christianity
Horrors of Heathen Rome Revived
Martyrdom of the Clergy

To such a plane has Northcliffe degraded a paper which used to be known throughout Europe as "The Thunderer," but which Lloyd George characterizes as "the three-penny edition of the 'Daily Mail.'"

Such is the roster of lies down to the middle of 1920. I have not brought it farther from want of space and strength.

Despite the broadening flow of truth out of Russia in the last three years the fount of malicious invention has certainly not run dry. In February, 1922, Sir Philips Gibbs after surveying the famine-stricken district along the Volga declared indignantly: "In Riga and Helsingfors and other places near the Russian frontier there are factories of lies, and the liars are busy with the cables accusing the Soviet government of seizing food sent for the relief of famine, inventing lies about food ships raided at Petrograd, poisoning public opinion with the belief that its charity will be wasted because Red Armies and not starving peasants will get the food sent for rescue.

"Those are the lies of political propagandists paid by Russians of the old régime and by their friends. The truth is exactly opposite."

One would suppose that editors would be too canny to go on printing stories from sources which a score of times had proved untrustworthy. The "Springfield Republican," the "Chicago News," the New York "Globe," the "New York Evening Post," the "Baltimore Sun," and a few other papers became wary and learned to sift the news from Russia. But the Judas press, which comprises the bulk of our larger and richer newspapers, did not object to becoming channels for obvious propaganda stuff. Their prime concern was not to get the truth to their readers but to cater to the prejudices of the business class, whose advertising furnishes about 70 per cent. of the total revenues of American newspapers.

These emigré cock-and-bull stories, eagerly caught up and gratuitously circulated by this Judas press, produced an immense effect. Tens of millions of good people come so to hate and execrate the Russian Communists that they can never be undeceived. For the rest of their lives their minds will be closed to the facts regarding Soviet Russia. Never will they get the poison out of their systems.

In the year 1919 a strange and ironical situation prevailed in the United States. On the one hand were a few thousands who contemplated a violent overthrow of the system of society in this country and the establishment of a working-class dictatorship. There were certainly not over fifty thousand of these fanatics, i.e., not more than one to every thousand adult Americans. They were so few that there never was at any time the least danger from them. Had there been not a constable, a policeman, or a soldier in the entire country, nevertheless these people would have been overawed by the citizens who love our form of government and will not have it changed save in an orderly way.

On the other hand, influential sections of the capitalist class, aided by great newspapers, high politicians, and powerful organizations, were doing their utmost to involve the United States in war with a people on the other side of the globe, one and one half times as numerous as we, and inhabiting a country four times as extensive. The pretext was "to stabilize government in Russia," but the real motive was to stamp out the communistic experiment there and make the world safe for private capitalism. Already we had 13,500 troops in Russia, and there was a hundred times as much danger of our country's becoming entangled in this bloody adventure as there was of a mad attempt to start a revolution here. Yet a great hue and cry was raised about "Bolshevik propaganda" in our midst while nothing was said of the huge anti-Bolshevik propaganda and of the plot against the peace and happiness of the American people set afoot by Russian emigrés and American Tories. All honor to the brave handful—such as Colonel William B. Thompson, Colonel Raymond Robins, Major Allen Wardwell, Major Thomas D. Thatcher, Captain Walter Pettit, Mr. William Bullitt, Miss Bessie Beatty, Mr. Oliver M. Sayler, Professor Jerome Davis, and others—who knew revolutionary Russia and who sought to open the eyes of our people to the anti-Bolshevik propaganda and conspiracy.

Yet it is those who out of class feeling aimed to embroil us in a needless and criminal foreign war who pose as "100 per cent. American"!

2. A LETTER TO AMERICAN WORKINGMEN (EXTRACTS)

By V. I. Lenin

Moscow, August 20, 1918.

The history of modern civilized America opens with one of those really revolutionary wars of liberation of which there have been so few compared with the enormous number of wars of conquest that were caused, like the present imperialistic war, by squabbles among kings, landholders and capitalists over the division of ill-gotten lands and profits. It was a war of the American people against the English who despoiled America of its resources and held in colonial subjection, just as their "civilized" descendants are draining the life blood of hundreds of millions of human beings in India, Egypt and all corners and ends of the world to keep them in subjection.

Since that war 150 years have passed. Bourgeois civilization has borne its most luxuriant fruit. By developing the productive forces of organized human labor, by utilizing machines and all the wonders of technique America has taken the first place among free and civilized nations. But at the same time America, like a few other nations, has become characteristic for the depth of the abyss that divides a handful of brutal millionaires who are stagnating in a mire of luxury, and millions of laboring starving men and women who are always staring want in the face.

Four years of imperialistic slaughter have left their trace. Irrefutably and clearly events have shown to the people that both imperialistic groups, the English as well as the German, have been playing false. The four years of war have shown in their effects the great law of capitalism in all wars; that he who is richest and mightiest profits the most, takes the greatest share of the spoils, while he who is weakest is exploited, martyred, oppressed, and outraged to the utmost.

In the number of its colonial possessions, English imperialism has always been more powerful than any of the other countries. England has lost not a span of its "acquired" land. On the other hand, it has acquired control of all German colonies in Africa, has occupied Mesopotamia and Palestine.

German imperialism was stronger because of the wonderful organization and ruthless discipline of "its" armies, but as far as colonies are concerned, is much weaker than its opponent. It has now lost all of its colonies, but has robbed half of Europe and throttled most of the small countries and weaker peoples. What a high conception of "liberation" on either side! How well they have defended their fatherlands, these "gentlemen" of both groups, the Anglo-French and the German capitalists together with their lackeys, the social patriots.

American plutocrats are wealthier than those of any other country, partly because they are geographically more favorably situated. They have made the greatest profits. They have made all, even the weakest countries, their debtors. They have amassed gigantic fortunes during the war. And every dollar is stained with the blood that was shed by millions of murdered or crippled men, shed in the high, honorable and holy war of freedom. . . .

They are little more than imitators of the bourgeoisie, these gentlemen who delight in holding up to us the "chaos" of revolution, the "destruction" of industry, the unemployment, the lack of food. Can there be anything more hypocritical than such accusations from people who greeted and supported the imperialistic war and made common cause with Kerensky when he continued the war? Is not this imperialistic war the cause of all our misfortune? The revolution that was born by the war must necessarily go on through the terrible difficulties and sufferings that war created, through this heritage of destruction and reactionary mass murder. To accuse us of "destruction" of industries and "terror" is hypocrisy or clumsy pedantry, shows an incapability of understanding the most elemental fundamentals of the raging, climatic force of the class struggle, called revolution.

In words our accusers "recognize" this kind of class struggle, in deeds they revert again and again to the middle class Utopia of "class-harmony" and the mutual "interdependence" of classes upon one another. In reality the class struggle in revolutionary times has always inevitably taken on the form of civil war, and civil war is unthinkable without the worst kind of destruction, without terror and limitations of forms of democracy in the interests of the war. One must be a sickly sentimentalist not to be able to see, to understand and appreciate this necessity. Only the Tchechov type of the lifeless "Man in the Box" can denounce the Revolution for this reason instead of throwing himself into the fight with the whole vehemence and decision of his soul at a moment when history demands that the highest problems of humanity be solved by struggle and war.

The best representatives of the American proletariat—those representatives who have repeatedly given expression to their full solidarity with us, the Bolsheviki, are the expression of this revolutionary tradition in the life of the American people. This tradition originated in the war of liberation against the English in the eighteenth and the Civil War in the nineteenth century. Industry and commerce in 1870 were in a much worse position than in 1860. But where can you find an American so pedantic, so absolutely idiotic who would deny the revolutionary and progressive significance of the American Civil War of 1860-1865?

The representatives of the bourgeoisie understand very well that the overthrow of slavery was well worth the three years of Civil War, the depth of destruction, devastation and terror that were its accompaniment. But these same gentlemen and the reform Socialists who have allowed themselves to be cowed by the bourgeoisie and tremble at the thought of a revolution, cannot, nay, will not, see the necessity and righteousness of a civil war in Russia, though it is facing a far greater task, the work of abolishing capitalist wage slavery and overthrowing the rule of the bourgeoisie.

The American working class will not follow the lead of its bourgeoisie. It will go with us against the bourgeoisie. The whole history of the American people gives me this confidence, this conviction. I recall with pride the words of one of the best-loved leaders of the American proletariat, Eugene V. Debs, who said in the *Appeal to Reason,* at the end of 1915, when it was still a Socialist paper, in an article entitled "Why Should I Fight?" that he would rather be shot than vote for war credits to support the present criminal and reactionary war, that he knows only one war that is sanctified and justified from the standpoint of the proletariat; the war against the capitalist class, the war for the liberation of mankind from wage slavery. I am not surprised that this fearless man was thrown into prison by the American bourgeoisie. Let them brutalize true internationalists, the real representatives of the revolutionary proletariat. The greater the bitterness and brutality they sow, the nearer is the day of the victorious proletarian revolution.

We are accused of having brought devastation upon Russia. Who is it that makes these accusations? The train-bearers of the bourgeoisie, of that same bourgeoisie that almost completely destroyed the culture of Europe, that has dragged the whole continent back to barbarism, that has brought hunger and destruction to the world. This bourgeoisie now demands that we find a different basis for our Revolution than that of destruction, that we shall not build it upon the ruins of war, with human beings degraded and brutalized by years of warfare. O, how human, how just is this bourgeoisie!

Its servants charge us with the use of terroristic methods. Have the English forgotten their 1649, the French their 1793? Terror was just and justified when it was employed by the bourgeoisie for its own purposes against feudal domination. But terror becomes criminal when workingmen and poverty stricken peasants dare to use it against the bourgeoisie. Terror was just and justified when it was used to put one exploiting minority in the place of another. But terror becomes horrible and criminal when it is used to abolish all exploiting minorities, when it is employed in the cause of the actual majority, in the cause of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat, of the working class and the poor peasantry.

The bourgeoisie of international imperialism has succeeded in slaughtering 10,000,000, in crippling 20,000,000 in its war. Should our war, the war of the oppressed and the exploited, against oppressors and exploiters cost a half or a whole million victims in all countries, the bourgeoisie would still maintain that the victims of the World War died a righteous death, that those of the civil war were sacrificed for a criminal cause.

But the proletariat, even now, in the midst of the horrors of war, is learning the great truth that all revolutions teach, the truth that has been handed down to us by our best teachers, the founders of modern Socialism. From them we have learned that a successful revolution is inconceivable unless it breaks the resistance of the exploiting class. When the workers and the laboring peasants took hold of the Powers of State, it became our duty to quell the resistance of the exploiting class. We are proud that we have done it, that we are doing it. We only regret that we did not do it, at the beginning, with sufficient firmness and decision.

We realize that the mad resistance of the bourgeoisie against the Socialist revolution in all countries is unavoidable. We know, too, that with the development of this revolution, this resistance will grow. But the proletariat will break down this resistance and in the course of its struggle against the bourgeoisie the proletariat will finally become ripe for victory and power.

Let the corrupt bourgeois press trumpet every mistake that is made by our Revolution out into the world. We are not afraid of our mistakes. The dead body of bourgeois society cannot simply be put into a coffin and buried. It rots in our midst, poisons the air we breathe, pollutes our lives, clings to the new, the fresh, the living with a thousand threads and tendrils of old customs, of death and decay.

But for every hundred of our mistakes that are heralded into the world by the bourgeoisie and its sycophants, there are 10,000 great deeds of heroism, greater and more heroic because they seem so simple and unpretentious, because they take place in the everyday life of the factory districts or in secluded villages, because they are the deeds of people who are not in the habit of proclaiming their every success to the world, who have no opportunity to do so.

But even if the contrary were true—I know, of course, that this is not so—but even if we had committed 10,000 mistakes to every 100 wise and righteous deeds, yes, even then our revolution would be great and invincible. And it will go down in the history of the world as unconquerable. For the first time in the history of the world not the minority, not alone the rich and the educated, but the real masses, the huge majority of the working class itself, are building up a new world, are deciding the most difficult questions of social organization from out of their own experience.

Every mistake that is made in this work, in this honestly conscientious co-operation of 10,000,000 plain workingmen and peasants in the recreation of their entire lives—every such mistake is worth thousands and millions of "faultless" successes of the exploiting minority, in outwitting and taking advantage of the laboring masses. For only through these mistakes can the workers and peasants learn to organize their new existence, to get along without the capitalist class. Only thus will they be able to blaze their way, through thousands of hindrances to victorious Socialism.

Mistakes are being made by our peasants who, at one stroke, in the night from October 25 to October 26 (Russian calendar), 1917, did away with all private ownership of land, and are now struggling from month to month, under the greatest difficulties, to correct their own mistakes, trying to solve in practice the most difficult problems of organizing a new social state, fighting against profiteers to secure the possession of the land for the worker instead of for the speculator, to carry on agricultural production under a system of communist farming on a large scale.

Mistakes are being made by our workmen in their revolutionary activity, who, in a few short months, have placed practically all of the larger factories and workers under state ownership, and are now learning, from day to day, under the greatest difficulties, to conduct the management of entire industries, to reorganize industries already organized, to overcome the deadly resistance of laziness and middle-class reaction and egotism. Stone upon stone they are building the foundation for a new social community, the self-discipline of labor, the new rule of the labor organizations of the working class over their members.

Mistakes are being made in their revolutionary acitvity by the Soviets which were first created in 1905 by the gigantic upheaval of the masses. The Workmen's and Peasants' Soviets are a new type of State, a new highest form of democracy, a particular form of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a mode of conducting the business of the state without the bourgeoisie and against the bourgeoisie. For the first time democracy is placed at the service of the masses, of the workers, and ceases to be a democracy for the rich, as it is, in the last analysis, in all capitalist, yes, in all democratic republics. For the first time the masses of the people, in a nation of hundreds of millions, are fulfilling the task of realizing the dictatorship of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat, without which Socialism is not to be thought of.

Let incurable pedants, crammed full of bourgeois democratic and parliamentary prejudices, shake their heads gravely over our Soviets, let them deplore the fact that we have no direct elections. These people have forgotten nothing, have learned nothing in the great upheaval of 1914-1918. The combination of the dictatorship of the proletariat with the new democracy of the proletariat, of civil war with the widest application of the masses to political problems, such a combination cannot be achieved in a day, cannot be forced into the battered forms of formal parliamentary democratism. In the Soviet Republic there arises before us a new world, the world of Socialism. Such a world cannot be materialized as if by magic, complete in every detail, as Minerva sprang from Jupiter's head.

While the old Bourgeoisie democratic constitutions, for instance, proclaimed formal equality and the right of free assemblage, the constitution of the Soviet Republic repudiates the hypocrisy of a formal equality of all human beings. When the bourgeoisie republicans overturned feudal thrones, they did not recognize the rules of formal equality of monarchists. Since we here are concerned with the task of overthrowing the bourgeoisie, only fools or traitors will insist on the formal equality of the bourgeoisie. The right of free assemblage is not worth an iota to the workman and to the peasant when all better meeting places are in the hands of the bourgeoisie. Our Soviets have taken over all usable buildings in the cities and towns out of the hands of the rich and have placed them at the disposal of the workmen and peasants for meeting and organization purposes. That is how our right of assemblage looks—for the workers. That is the meaning and content of our Soviet, of our Socialist constitution.

And for this reason we are all firmly convinced that the Soviet Republic, whatever misfortune may still lie in store for it, is unconquerable.

It is unconquerable because every blow that comes from the powers of madly raging imperialism, every new attack, by the international bourgeoisie will bring new, and hitherto unaffected, strata of workingmen and peasants into the fight, will educate them at the cost of the greatest sacrifice, making them hard as steel, awakening a new heroism in the masses.

3. SOVIET RUSSIA'S RELATIONS WITH AMERICA [25]

In March, 1917, the Russian Revolution broke out. On March 22 the United States was the first to formally recognize the Provisional Government. Later they granted credit for the purchase of war material in the United States to the extent of $283,100,000. Five days after the

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[25] By Jerome Davis. Reprinted from *Soviet Russia and Her Neighbors* (New York: Vanguard Press. 1927), pp. 164-175.

Revolution began, the Petrograd Soviet, which actually had more military power than the Provisional Government, sent out a proclamation to the "Peoples of the World" in which it said:

> "Conscious of its revolutionary power the Russian democracy announces that it will, by every means, resist the policy of conquest of its ruling classes, and it calls upon the peoples of Europe for concerted decisive actions in favor of peace."

On May 15, this same Soviet sent an appeal to the Socialists of all countries which said:

> "You must force your governments to state definitely and clearly that the platform of peace without annexations or indemnities, on the basis of self-determination of peoples, is also their platform. . . . In order to unite these efforts the Petrograd Soviet has decided to take the initiative in calling for an international conference of all the Socialist parties and factions in every country."

The Provisional Government which we had recognized gave the stamp of its approval to this by declaring on May 18 that its aim was:

> "To bring about, at the earliest possible date, a general peace . . . without annexations, without indemnities, and on the basis of self-determination of peoples."

Secretary of State Lansing met this appeal by stating that no passports would be issued for Americans desiring to attend the Stockholm Peace Conference. The State Department looked with disfavor on the possibility of its spreading peace sentiments in the countries participating.

On May 12 the State Department announced a *Special Diplomatic Mission* to Russia headed by Elihu Root of New York. In Moscow on June 22, 1917, Mr. Root said:

> "It is a cause of joy to the democratic people of the United States if they can help to give to the Russian people the opportunity to work out their own system of government in accordance with the genius of Russian character."

On June 22 he said to the Moscow Duma:

> "You will make mistakes; you will have to retrace your steps here and there; you will find imperfections, but you will step by step go on to develop a structure of competent and successful free self-government. . . . *We will stay with you to the end.*"

On June 23 he said to the Russian War Industries Board:

> "A very cheering incident is the action recently taken in Petrograd by the General Council of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates. . . . That resolution [welcoming coöperation between capital and labor] may well be accepted as

the authoritative declaration of the people of Russia, so far as they have yet been able to secure a representative assembly."

Mr. Duncan, another member of the Root Commission, said to the All-Russian Trade Union Convention on July 5:

> "We advise that in addition to these political activities the working men and women of Russia should thoroughly and strongly organize into trade and labor unions. . . . Organize now into militant trade and employment associations. Take co-equal interest in economic as in political organization."

This, Mr. Duncan assured them, was necessary because without it government officials would be careless in enforcing the law.

Still another member of the United States Government Commission told the Russian people that he was a Socialist:

> "I come from the workers, the radicals, the American Socialists, the champions of democracy. For freedom and the emancipation of man the Russian Revolution is the greatest event in human history."

When the Russian people followed their reasonable interpretation of these official messages from America and organized the government on the basis of a union labor system—on the authority of occupational units, or Socialistic Soviets, America refused to deal with them.

On June 16 the Russian Provisional Government sent a note asking for a conference of Allied Powers to revise the ultimate aims of the war. On the whole, these first few months were characterized by peace and friendship between Russia and her allies.

But the ensuing period was marked by the growing misunderstanding with foreign powers.

On November 6, after the people had elected Bolsheviks to a majority control in most of the Soviets throughout Russia, the Communistic Party seized control of the national government. Two days later the All-Russian Convention of Soviets passed a resolution proposing to all the warring peoples a peace based on the formula "no annexation and no indemnities." The Soviet Government on November 22 sent a note to the Allied Ambassadors proposing such a peace. The Spanish, Norwegian, Swedish, and Swiss ministers sent replies saying that they were taking "proper steps."

General Judson, the ranking United States military representative, on November 28, sent a letter to the Chief of the Russian General Staff in which he said that America did not wish to aid any one political party in Russia against another, and that "it is certainly within the rights of Russia to bring up the question of a general peace."

The same day Trotsky sent a note to the diplomatic representatives of the Allied countries informing them that hostilities had ceased on the

Russian front and urging them to join in negotiations for a speedy armistice.

Trotsky protested on December 1 that the representative of the United States, Lieutenant-Colonel Kerth, had urged the Russian General Dukhonin to carry out a policy "directly contrary" to that of the Russian Government, and was consequently interfering in the internal affairs of the country. It was on that same day that General Judson called on Trotsky and stated: "The time of protests and threats addressed to the Soviet Government has passed, if that time ever existed." Because of his willingness to treat with the Bolsheviks, General Judson was recalled to the United States and kept here for the duration of the war.

On December 29 Trotsky once more appealed to the Allies to participate in the peace conferences. On January 2, 1918, Ambassador Francis, of the United States, in a written communication stated: "If the Russian armies now under the command of the People's Commissars commence and seriously conduct hostilities against the forces of Germany and her allies, I will recommend to my Government the formal recognition of the *de facto* government of the People's Commissars."

President Wilson, in his address to Congress on January 8, complimented the Soviet Government, saying:

> "The Russian representatives have insisted, very justly, very wisely, and in the true spirit of modern democracy, that the conferences they have been holding with the Teutonic and Turkish statesmen should be held within open, not closed, doors, and all the world has been the audience, as was desired. . . . Their power [that of the Russian people] is shattered. And yet their soul is not subservient. They will not yield either in principle or in action. Their conception of what is right, of what it is humane and honorable for them to accept, has been stated with a frankness, a largeness of view, a generosity of spirit, and a universal human sympathy which must challenge the admiration of every friend of mankind."

On January 18 the Constituent Assembly met and was disbanded by the Soviet Government. On January 23 Colonel Raymond Robins, Commander of the American Red Cross, cabled America stating that in consequence of the dissolution of the Constitutional Assembly the Soviet Government was stronger than ever before and that he strongly urged recognition.

After waiting three months for Allied recognition, the Bolsheviks on February 8 repudiated Russia's foreign debts. Yet on February 28 the American Ambassador, who had removed his headquarters to Vologda, wired to Raymond Robins, of the American Red Cross, who had remained in the Russian capital, to "express gratitude Council People's Commissars for coöperation."

On March 5 Trotsky gave a note for transmission to the American Government asking what support they could count on from the United

States if they continued to fight Germany. And on March 9 the American Ambassador cabled the Secretary of State against Japanese intervention saying, among other things:

> "Trotsky furthermore asserted that neither his government nor the Russian people would object to the supervision by America of all shipments from Vladivostok into Russia and a virtual control of the operations of the Siberian railway."

On March 14 President Wilson sent a message for the Russian people through the Congress of Soviets, thus to that extent recognizing the Bolshevik Government.

Shortly afterwards Secretary Polk stated that Japanese intervention in Siberia could be justified solely with a view to "holding it safe against Germany. . . . Otherwise the Central Powers could and would make it appear that Japan was doing in the East exactly what Germany is doing in the West, and so seek to counter the condemnation which all the world must pronounce against Germany's invasions of Russia which she attempts to justify on the pretext of restoring order." All the world now knows that we did not limit intervention in Russia "to holding it safe against Germany."

On March 18 Trotsky officially asked America for officers to help train the Soviet Army and also for an American railroad commission.

During this same month the American Ambassador became alarmed about the reported arming of prisoners of war. These reports were later shown to be largely false by official American and British officers appointed to investigate the matter. On March 23 the American Ambassador in Tokio cabled that the Japanese Government had no present intention of intervening in Siberia. Less than two weeks later Japan began landing military forces in Vladivostok. All the Allied military attachés in Moscow cabled on April 4 against Japanese intervention.

On March 29 Foreign Commissar Chicherin formally asked the United States Government for the appointment of its representative on each of six commissions to settle Rumanian-Russian affairs. During this period the Soviet Government permitted our officials to purchase platinum for the use of the United States. But, although the United States Ambassador requested our railroad commission to come on, they were held in Japan by the State Department on the theory that the Soviet leaders were "acting under the direction of the German General Staff."

On April 9 Ambassador Francis was advised by the Secretary of State that Admiral Kato had landed troops in Siberia solely on his own responsibility. The Ambassador thereupon advised the British and American admirals and consuls that this had been done "purely for the protection of Japanese life and property."

On April 12, at the request of the Commander of the American Red

Cross who had had his automobile stolen, the Bolsheviks attacked and captured all the armed anarchist clubs in Russia, which the Kerensky Government had not dared to attack.

On April 17 the Commander of the American Red Cross protested because of the methods used by our consular representatives against the Bolshevik Government. He wired to the American Ambassador, who was still in Vologda,

> "Business relations not usually strengthened through policy kicking people in the face. Constant desire and expectation overthrow Soviet power poor foundation business coöperation."

On April 18 the American Red Cross Commander again reiterated his belief that unless the United States would create a commission with power to work with the Soviet Government for economic cooperation, all useful work in Russia was over.

On April 21 the Soviet Government claimed to have uncovered a conspiracy against the Siberian Soviet Government by Admiral Knight of the United States and the American Consul at Vladivostok. The American Red Cross admitted that it looked as if the Consul was at least indiscreet. The Soviet Government asked for the recall of the American Consul in Vladivostok.

On May 3 the American Ambassador wired Colonel Robins asking him if he thought "the Soviet Government would oppose Allied intervention if they knew it was inevitable."

On May 14, when Colonel Robins left for America, Lenin gave him a complete memorandum concerning "Russian-American Commercial Relations," guaranteeing that the military stores in Russia would not be sold to Germany and offering unusual concessions to America.

On May 31 the American Ambassador gave an official statement to the Russian people:

> "The policy of my Government is not to intervene in the internal affairs of Russia—and this policy has never been violated."

On June 1 he added another public declaration, in which he said:

> "In other words, the policy of my Government consists in non-intervention in the internal affairs of Russia and in giving the opportunity to the people of this great country to select their own form of government, make their own laws, and elect their own officials."

The American Ambassador, however, had already been working for intervention nearly a month, since on May 2 he had sent the Secretary of State this cablegram: "In my opinion the time has arrived for Allied intervention."

By July 13 United States marines had landed at Murmansk and

British, French, and Serbian forces were moving into the interior, arresting Soviet officials on the way. Chicherin felt called upon to make an official protest to the United States.

On July 25, after the Bolshevik Government had requested the American Ambassador to leave Vologda because of the possibility of military operations, Ambassador Francis sent a message to Chicherin, in which he said: "Do you expect a German siege of Archangel? Certainly you do not anticipate an Allied siege of that city." Scarcely a week later General Poole took Archangel and began moving down towards Vologda!

There followed months of warfare and bitter hostility.

On August 3, 1918, the United States Government at Washington officially made the following statement:

> "In the judgment of the Government of the United States—a judgment arrived at after repeated and very searching consideration of the whole situation—military intervention in Russia would be more likely to add to the present sad confusion there than to cure it, and would injure Russia, rather than help her out of her distress. . . . As the Government of the United States sees the present circumstances, therefore, military action is admissible in Russia now only to render such protection and help as is possible to the Czechoslovaks against the armed Austrian and German prisoners who are attacking them, and to steady any efforts at self-government or self-defense in which the Russians themselves may be willing to accept assistance."

As we have noted, Colonel Robins had already proved through Captain Webster and Captain Hicks the falsity of the reports regarding serious menace from armed prisoners of war. On August 23 Trotsky protested against this prisoner-of-war charge, calling it "an American lie."

The official American statement of policy continued:

> "Whether from Vladivostok or from Murmansk or Archangel, the only present object for which American troops will be employed will be to guard military stores which may be needed by Russian forces and to render such aid as may be acceptable to the Russians in the organization of their own self-defence. . . . In taking this action the Government of the United States wishes to announce to the people of Russia in the most public and solemn manner that it contemplates no interference with the political sovereignty of Russia, no intervention in her internal affairs—not even in the local affairs of the limited areas which her military force may be obliged to occupy."

Yet United States troops were sent hundreds of miles into the interior of Russia under an allied force in which Russians played a subordinate role. In Archangel all the ministers of the new Northern Government were arrested and, in spite of the efforts of the American Ambassador to bring them back, they found it impossible to function because "the British officers together with some of the French officers had planned a *coup d'état.*" Tchaikovsky, the head of the Archangel "Government," was not permitted to publish his own material and, according to the report which Ambassador Francis himself reproduces, the Allied censor commission "had condemned over half of the matter in the proposed issue of the Russian governmental paper, and consequently it was not issued."

No wonder that on August 6 the Soviet Government protested to the American Consul in Moscow:

> "We therefore request you to inform your government and peoples abroad that a completely unjustifiable attack and a pronounced act of violence is being committed upon us. . . . Without a declaration of war and without the existence of a state of war, hostilities are opened against us and our national property is pillaged."

On October 24 the Russian Soviet Government addressed a note to President Wilson in which they expressed their belief that intervention to protect Czechoslovak soldiers was mere hypocrisy. They said:

> "The best proof of the real object of the Czechoslovak rebellion is the fact that, although in control of the Siberian railway, the Czechoslovaks have not taken advantage of this to leave Russia, but by order of the Entente Governments, whose directions they follow, have remained in Russia to become the mainstay of the Russian counter-revolution."

On September 3 the Soviet Government disclosed an attempted bribery of Soviet troops by the English and French missions in Moscow. According to the Soviet Government, the purpose of the conspiracy was the seizure of the People's Commissars. A British Lieutenant, Riley, paid over a million roubles in this attempt.

In October, 1918, rumors of an approaching armistice reached North Russia. Ambassador Francis in Archangel was forced to cable on the 18th of that month that the French troops would not now fight any more and that American soldiers "were partially inoculated with the same sentiment."

But the Armistice in France did not end Russia's difficulties with America and the Allies. Russia sought peace, but in vain.

On December 2 Chicherin sent to the Allied Governments an offer of peace. On December 24 Litvinoff appealed to President Wilson formally offering "to enter into negotiations for a peaceful settlement of all questions making for hostilities against Russia."

On January 12 Chicherin sent a note to the American Government attacking former war arguments which had been used to justify American intervention, because by this time the war with Germany was over.

On January 21, 1919, the President of the United States admitted that Russia had been invaded by the Allies because they "were all repelled by Bolshevism." He went on to state that "one of the things that was clear in the Russian situation was that by opposing Bolshevism with arms they were in reality serving the cause of Bolshevism."

Before the President made this statement and while he was making it, the American Ambassador was asking that he be allowed to return to Petrograd with fifty thousand American troops! "This," he said, "would mean the extinction of Bolshevism, would save our faces, and would probably induce troops to obey orders."

On January 22 the Allied representatives at the Peace Conference proposed a meeting of all the Russian factions at Prinkipo. They again reiterated, "It is not their [the Allied] wish or purpose to favor or assist any one of the organized groups now contending for the leadership and guidance of Russia as against the others." The Bolsheviks accepted this invitation, but all the other factions refused and the meeting was never held. President Wilson instead sent William C. Bullitt and Lincoln Steffens to Russia to observe conditions at first hand.

On March 14, 1919, the Soviet Government sent out by the Bullitt Commission an offer of peace which included recognizing all its foreign debts. To this offer the Allies never replied.

Russia then attempted direct negotiations. It sent L. C. A. K. Martens as representative to the United States. On March 19 his credentials were sent to the State Department, but they were not accepted. On June 12, the State of New York raided his offices in New York City, but found nothing incriminating. In January, 1920, a Senate Committee made exhaustive investigations into his activities, and again nothing against him was discovered. Nevertheless, he was ordered deported in December, 1920, on the sole ground that he represented the Russian Bolshevik Government.

In October, 1919, the Allies asked all neutral governments, as well as Germany, to participate in the Blockade of Bolshevik Russia. Among other things clearance papers were to be refused to every ship going into Russian ports. The United States declared on November 4 that it was not participating in the blockade. It only refused "export licenses for shipments to Russian territory under Bolshevik control and clearance papers to American vessels seeking to depart for Petrograd, the only remaining Bolshevik port." There followed Allied help to Yudenitch, Wrangel, Denikin, Petlura, and yet each and every one of these military adventures was a dismal failure.

On December 5 the seventh All-Russian Congress of Soviets, after reiterating ten distinct proposals for peace made by Russia, passed another resolution proposing peace with the Allies.

On January 16, 1920, over a year after the Armistice, the United States Secretary of State issued a statement declaring that it was the intention of the government to withdraw the American military forces from Siberia in the near future. On the same date the Supreme Council decided to lift the blockade of Russia. Nevertheless, the United States continued to warn business men that they would refuse to protect Americans who engaged in Russian trade.

Since 1920 the United States has practiced a policy of quarantining the Russian Soviet Government, with curious spasmodic interruptions. The American Relief Administration, under Mr. Hoover, worked in Russia from October, 1921, to July, 1923, sending in tens of millions of dollars worth of grain to relieve starvation. But the policy of non-recognition continues.

In August, 1922, America offered to send "an expert technical commission to study and report on the economic situation" in Russia. The Soviet Government accepted the proposal, provided she could send a reciprocal mission to America. This proposal we refused. President Coolidge in December, 1923, suggested settling with Russia, and again the Soviet Government accepted the proposal, but the Secretary of State, in a cold unfriendly note made new demands and refused the offer.

Russian business agents are, however, welcomed, and several American banks have financed the growing Russo-American commerce. For the year ending September 30, 1926, the All-Russian Textile Syndicate purchased over $33,000,000 worth of cotton in the United States. In three years, it purchased $116,815,282.42 worth of cotton, dyes, machinery, and other merchandise in the United States. The total turnover of imports and exports from Russia during the year ending September 30, 1926, was over seventy-eight million dollars. But while America was entertaining Bolshevik emissaries who had gold, and while Ford was shipping 10,000 tractors to Russia on partial credit, the United States Secretary of State refused a transit visa to the Russian Ambassador to Mexico. The "quarantine" has not been ended; so far as the United States Government is concerned, officially and formally, there is no government in Russia![26]

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[26] It is sometimes maintained that the absence of diplomatic relations does not handicap trade. This is not true. Instances of the handicaps which this policy entails are the following:

1. The United States still refuses to accept Russian gold at the Mint. Although the law reads, "Any owner of gold bullion may deposit the same at any mint to be formed into coin or bars for his benefit," nevertheless E. C. Ropes, Chief of the Russian Section of the Department of Commerce writes under date of July 30, 1930:

   "Since 1920, the Treasury Department has refused to accept at the United States Mints gold coming from Soviet Russia, the State Department having decided to give assurance that the title to Soviet gold will not be subject to attack, internationally or otherwise."
2. The Department of State discourages (in effect prohibits) the exportation of military equipment to Russia.
3. Without recognition trade relations are conducted in a haphazard way and are at the mercy of all sorts of extraneous factors. Some one may impose some forged documents on a credulous Police Commissioner in New York City. He

4. THE FOREIGN RELATION POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES TOWARD RUSSIA[27]

During the past four years the Government of the United States has maintained the position that it would be both futile and unwise to enter into relations with the Soviet Government so long as the Bolshevik leaders persist in aims and practices in the field of international relations which preclude the possibility of establishing relations on the basis of accepted principles governing intercourse between nations. It is the conviction of the Government of the United States that relations on a basis usual between friendly nations can not be established with a governmental entity which is the agency of a group who hold it as their mission to bring about the overthrow of the existing political, economic and social order throughout the world and who regulate their conduct towards other nations accordingly.

The experiences of various European Governments which have recognized and entered into relations with the Soviet regime have demonstrated conclusively the wisdom of the policy to which the government of United States has consistently adhered. Recognition of the Soviet regime has not brought about any cessation of interference by the Bolshevik leaders in the internal affairs of any recognizing country, nor has it led to the acceptance by them of other fundamental obligations of international intercourse. Certain European states have endeavored, by entering into discussions with representatives of the Soviet regime, to reach a settlement of outstanding differences on the basis of accepted international practices. Such conferences and discussions have been entirely fruitless. No state has been able to obtain the payment of debts contracted by Russia under preceding governments or the indemnification of its citizens for confiscated property. Indeed, there is every reason to believe that the granting of recognition and the holding of discussions have served only to encourage the present rulers of Russia in their policy of repudiation and confiscation, as well as in their hope that it is possible to establish a working basis, accepted by other nations, whereby they can continue their war on the existing political and social order in other countries.

Current developments demonstrate the continued persistence at Mos-

in turn may induce Congress to appoint an investigation. The resulting Commission is prey to all sorts of propaganda.

4. No financial loans can be placed in the United States in the absence of diplomatic relations. Such curtailment of credit inevitably limits the purchasing capacity of the country against which it is directed.
5. Owing to the absence of diplomatic relations both countries are deprived of the assistance of consuls and diplomatic officers.
6. Ships flying the flag of a country maintaining no diplomatic relation with the country of destination are required to pay considerably higher port charges and other duties.

[27] Statement by Frank R. Kellogg, Secretary of State in 1928, sent to the author, for inclusion in this volume, by the State Department.

cow of a dominating world revolutionary purpose and the practical manifestation of this purpose in such ways as render impossible the establishment of normal relations with the Soviet Government. The present rulers of Russia, while seeking to direct the evolution of Russia along political, economic and social lines in such manner as to make it an effective "base of the world revolution," continue to carry on, through the Communist International and other organizations with headquarters at Moscow, within the borders of other nations, including the United States, extensive and carefully planned operations for the purpose of ultimately bringing about the overthrow of the existing order in such nations.

A mass of data with respect to the activities carried on in the United States by various Bolshevik organizations, under the direction and control of Moscow, was presented by the Department of State to a subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations in January, 1924. Since that time these activities have been developed and extended to include, for example, the stirring up of resentment against the Government and the people of the United States in the countries of Latin America and in the Far East; and the supervision by Moscow of the organizations through which these activities are carried on has become even more comprehensive and more pronounced. The Government of the United States feels no concern lest this systematic interference in our affairs lead in the end to a consummation of the Bolshevik plan to bring about the overthrow of our Government and institutions. The Government of the United States, however, does not propose to acquiesce in such interference by entering into relations with the Soviet Government. Nor can the Government of the United States overlook the significance of the activities carried on in our midst under the direction of Moscow as evidence of the continuation of the fundamental hostile purpose of the present rulers of Russia, which makes vain any hope of establishing relations on a basis usual between friendly nations.

In the view of the Government of the United States, a desire and disposition on the part of the present rulers of Russia to comply with accepted principles governing international relations is an essential prerequisite to the establishment of a sound basis of intercourse between the two countries. A clear and unequivocal recognition of the sanctity of international obligations is of vital importance, not only as concerns the development of relations between the United States and Russia, but also as regards the peaceful and harmonious development of relations between nations. No result beneficial to the people of the United States, or, indeed, to the people of Russia, would be attained by entering into relations with the present régime in Russia so long as the present rulers of Russia have not abandoned those avowed aims and known practices which are inconsistent with international friendship.

While the international aims and practices of the present rulers of Russia preclude the recognition of the so-called Soviet Government by the United States, the Government and the people of the United States are now, as in the past, animated by a sincere friendship for the Russian people. As President Coolidge stated in his annual message to the Congress of December 6, 1923: "We have every desire to see that great people, who are our traditional friends, restored to their position among the nations of the earth."

As concerns commercial relations between the United States and Russia, it is the policy of the Government of the United States to place no obstacles in the way of the development of trade and commerce between the two countries, it being understood that individuals and corporations availing themselves of the opportunity to engage in such trade, do so upon their own responsibility and at their own risk. The Department of State has endeavored to reduce to a minimum difficulties affecting commercial relations. Visas are readily granted by American consular officers to Russian nationals, even if associated with the Soviet régime, provided that the real purpose of their visit to the United States is in the interest of trade and commerce and provided that they have not been associated with the international revolutionary activities of the Bolshevik régime. The American Government has interposed no objection to the financing incidental to ordinary current commercial intercourse between the two countries, and does not object to banking arrangements necessary to finance contracts for the sale of American goods on long term credits, provided the financing does not involve the sale of securities to the public. The American Government, however, views with disfavor the flotation of a loan in the United States or the employment of American credit for the purpose of making an advance to a régime which has repudiated the obligations of Russia to the United States and its citizens and confiscated the property of American citizens in Russia. Various Soviet commercial organizations have established branches in this country, and, as may be observed from the table on the following page, a substantial trade has developed.

Not only has a substantial trade developed between the United States and Russia, but an examination of Russian trade statistics during the past three years shows that the total value of American exports to Russia in that period exceeds the total value of the exports to Russia from either Great Britain or Germany during the same period. It is to be noted in this connection that Great Britain concluded a trade agreement with the Soviet régime in 1921 and accorded recognition in 1924, and Germany reëstablished diplomatic relations in 1922 and concluded a comprehensive commercial treaty in 1925.

AMERICAN-RUSSIAN TRADE
(IN DOLLARS)

	Imports from Russia	*Exports to Russia*[28]
1912	28,346,870	27,315,137
1923	1,481,699	7,308,389
1924	8,030,465	41,948,578
1925	13,001,731	68,873,019
1926	14,121,992	49,735,269
1927*	8,885,366	58,812,435

* Ten months.

5. CAPITALISM VERSUS COMMUNISM [29]

Prof. Edwin R. A. Seligman

. . . We all understand, of course, that by Capitalism we do not mean the factory system or the machine or the use of capital in any of its forms, because that is a technological problem and not an economic problem. The five-year plan of the Soviet Government, the attempt to introduce industrialization on the farms, is quite compatible with Capitalism.

By Capitalism, therefore, I mean an economic system which acknowledges the rights of private property and which puts into the hands of one social class the whole machinery of production, from the acquisition of the raw material up to the disposition of the final product.

By Socialism I mean that economic system which, while acknowledging private property in consumption, takes private property in production out of the hands of the individual and which, therefore, puts into the hands of the government or its accredited representatives the entire process of production from beginning to end.

And by Communism I understand an economic system which goes one step further, which abolishes private property altogether, whether in production or in consumption, and which does away with the other accompaniments of private property which are accepted by Socialism, such as the family and all the other results of the bourgeois system.

That being so, I want to say, in the next place, that it has always seemed to me a mark of lack of historical appreciation to consider that an economic system which, like Capitalism, is only in its beginning to-day, which has not even yet won large sections of the world, which is only developing at the present time in parts of this country, as in the South,

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[28] Later figures on American Russian trade, supplied by the Department of Commerce from American Customs figures, are given below. These figures include trade both with Soviet Russia in Europe and with Soviet Russia in Asia.

Year	*Imports from Russia*	*Exports to Russia*
1927	$12,876,790	$64,921,693
1928	14,024,525	74,091,235
1929	22,555,714	84,725,205

[29] From *Capitalism, Socialism, Communism.* A Debate (Rand Book Store, New York City, 1930).

and in other parts of the world, as in China and Japan—I say I have always considered it a gross solecism to think that a system which is just beginning, which is not more than a century or a century and a half old at the best, is destined to be supplanted, wiped off the field at once by any other system.

I shall not take up your time to recall what is familiar to all intelligent people—the fact that Capitalism is only the last stage in an economic development which has been going on for centuries and for millennia just as the medieval or guild system itself lasted for centuries and replaced a system which, before it, had lasted still more centuries.

Therefore, in considering this problem—namely, whether Capitalism, as such, promises more to the average man than Socialism or Communism—you must consider the system as something in the making, something that has had it growing pains, that has scarcely reached maturity yet and that has, in my humble opinion at least, a great future, a modified development, modified in many ways, in store for it.

Now, then, the first of the points that I want to make is to call attention to the achievements of Capitalism. What has Capitalism done for the world and what does it promise for the future? I should put its achievements under three heads. First and foremost, it has brought about an amplitude or a wealth of production which has never before been known. Indeed that is in large part due to the use of the machine and industrial capital itself. But the machine and industrial capital have, we must recognize, been the accompaniments of Capitalism. They have gone hand in hand with Capitalism. The guild system and the domestic system did not create that form of economic life. Capitalism is responsible for it. And under it no one can doubt but that, as regards the amount of production, the quantity of wealth at our disposal, nothing yet known in the history of the world can compare with it; because it enables citizens in New York, those who are able to secure it, and even the humblest among us, to possess as comforts—nay, even as necessities—what in former economic systems were considered luxuries. And the circle of the comfort-receiving class under Capitalism is continually expanding instead of restricting. The first achievement of Capitalism, therefore, is the amount of wealth that is produced under our present system.

In the second place, I should put the opportunities opened to the world and to the individual—opportunities which have never existed before. The world has always been so constituted, and probably will always be so constituted, that some people will have a better chance, will have a better likelihood of availing themselves of their opportunities. But, under previous economic systems, those opportunities were not available. The immense progress which we must ascribe to Capitalism is that the number of people tc whom these opportunities are vouchsafed is continually growing, expanding from the privileged class of a very small scope to a greater and continually greater circle of people who may avail themselves of these privileges.

In the third place, under the modern system of Capitalism, which means the domination of competition, there has grown an amount of freedom which has never before been known in the history of the world. Freedom is indeed a relative thing. But, after all, the freedom to own one's self as against slavery, the freedom to express one's opinion, the freedom to achieve one's own soul—those things, while by no means 100 per cent. under our present system, have been attained to a very much greater extent than in any other system that has even been known in the world.

Thus you have these three great achievements: The production of wealth in unheard of quantity, the development of opportunity in a way that has never been known, the development of liberty—slow, gradual, but still also in a way that has hitherto been utterly unknown.

Now, then, candor compels me to confess that there are drawbacks also to Capitalism. But, has anything ever existed in the world without drawbacks? Have angels been known to tread in the habitat of mankind? Is perfection ever attainable, except perhaps in the limitless future of ages far-off, perhaps, as the stars? The drawbacks we must recognize. But what I am going to try to do is to compare the drawbacks of Capitalism with those of the other forms of economic life.

The first drawback is the waste of competition. There is an immense amount of waste under our present system, good, relatively, though it be.

Secondly, I should put the insufficient regard that is paid to the unsuccessful. Competition gives the greatest opportunity to the strong man, to the intelligent man, even to the good man who combines with his goodness intelligence and energy. But it does not, in my opinion, yet by any means give to the underdog what some day, perhaps, will be accorded to him. The mere fact, as an example of what I mean, that in an industrial depression like that through which we are now going it is very largely the workman who must stand the brunt of the difficulty is, in my mind, a grave indictment of our present system. The whole development of social insurance and of the other forms of social interference, as we shall see in a moment, tends to make us feel very acutely that drawback of Capitalism.

Finally, there is no gainsaying the fact that, while competition and Capitalism and private property have brought out some of the finest characteristics of human nature such as the sense of prudence, of foresight, of energy, of all those things that we associate with the amazing progress of the United States, for instance, it has also developed certain other qualities which are not so admirable, so that in the judgment of many the emphasis on the profit-motive might well be supplemented, if we could do so, by other forms of human activity.

But let us leave that point now and come to the real question, which is: Why is Capitalism better than Socialism or Communism? And here I am not like the proverbial advocate who refuses to see anything good in his adversary. Everything in this world is relative and there is much that is good, in theory at least, in both Socialism and Communism—not so much as in Capitalism, but still much that is good.

What Socialism presents to us very strongly is what I should call the coöperative spirit. A man like Karl Marx, for instance, one of the great thinkers of the world, one of the finest human beings—I won't say that, perhaps; the recent lives that have been written of him show that in some respects he wasn't quite so admirable; but I take the other great Socialists—many of the great Socialists have really been the elect of the world. They have had the finest ideals and the loftiest ambitions and they do stand for the emphasis upon the coöperative spirit.

And Communism, with its great leaders, men like Lenin, men like Trotzky, whom everyone must, if he understands them, respect and admire—not for their intellect, because I don't think they had great intellects, but for their character and because of their ambitions—they have succeeded in putting forward an idea which surely will some day more and more bear fruit: The subordination of the individual to the group —the thing that we all see in war time; in war time, when every man is willing to give up his own private individuality and sink it in the common good. And that is the wonderful idea in Communism, as all of us know who have seen that interesting play, "Red Rust."

But what are the weaknesses? Why do I stand for Capitalism? Because, so far as Socialism is concerned, it falls down completely on the first point to which I referred. Under Socialism you will not get, and do not get in any of the manifestations which we have of it, as much production as you have under Capitalism.

Every form of government activity is to a certain extent Socialism. Public education is Socialism. The Post-Office is Socialism. The street cars in San Francisco are Socialism. But so also in this country, we have had a few examples of a more developed Socialism, as the gas supply in Philadelphia, or the railway system here during the war, or the government merchant marine—all these show us conclusively that in a community, at all events, like that of the United States, the waste, the inefficiency, the corruption, the lack of individual ambition all result in such a diminution of production that, instead of surplus, you have deficit and, instead of prosperity, you have poverty.

And to come to Communism—if there were time I should like to read this to you. But I haven't time. I can only give you the name of a book by a man who, until recently, was a member of the Communist Party—Panait Istrati—which is written in French—a book which in one month went through seventeen editions—and this book, which appeared only a few weeks ago, has gone through eleven editions. That man, who knows his Russia as well as anyone makes his quotations from official Communist sources and from official Communist papers. He gives us a picture of the life of the 158,000,000 out of the 160,000,000 Russians which, to my mind, is the most horrible, the most terrible presentation that has even been given by any human being. The picture that it gives of life, in economic conditions, in moral conditions, in educational conditions, is such as to throw into the discard the very worst things that we see not alone in our Capitalism of to-day, as down South or in the coal mines or on the fields of this vast country, but the very worst manifestations of Capitalism in its beginnings, in England or on the Continent.

I would ask all of you who have any doubts as to what is better for the average man to read some of these devastating pages of "Naked Russia," by Panait Istrati.[30]

But the time is almost up, and I want to devote the last two or three minutes to my chief point, which is this: that Capitalism carries within itself the seeds of possibilities which are absent in both of the others. Capitalism is developing in this country two things which have never existed before. The one is a system of social regulation whereby, through government, through society, a system is gradually being evolved which, while preserving competition, raises its level. And, secondly, Capitalism is developing, especially among our foremost captains of industry, a sense of social responsibility which never existed before under any other system. It is a system which, under men like Ford, under men like Owen D. Young, under men like any of our great captains of industry, recognizes the doctrine that has been taught by economists for years, the doctrine of the economy of high wages, the doctrine that a workman should at least be treated as well as the machine, the doctrine that there is such a thing as a social responsibility of the Capitalist.

You see that in the present depression. Through the agency of our good President and all those that have helped him in the last few months, what has happened? For the first time in the history of the world, we have had an industrial depression without any lowering of wages. That, I think, is one of the most important signs of the times.

We have unemployment, of course, and always will, under any system. Read of the unemployment, read of the lowering of wages in Russia, read of the horrible conditions that affect the ordinary man under the conditions as you find them in Russia to-day, and you will realize that, while we are still far from perfection, there is in Capitalism a chance, a tendency, an opportunity to suffuse it with the social idea which is needed; while in Socialism and Communism, from the very fact that they abolish individualism and competition, and that Communism especially goes still further in abolishing the family and everything that goes with it, there is no saving force.

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[30] A Roumanian novelist who visited Russia as a Communist. A. Yarmolinsky, Head of the Russian Department of the N. Y. Public Library says, "It seems reasonable to question the testimony of so emotional and erratic a person as Istrati seems to be." *Naked Russia* is one volume of *Vers l'autre flamme*, see bibliography, p. 418.

We can, under Capitalism, as it is developing, have a kind of a compromise between the two essential elements in all life. Just as we have the red corpuscles and the white corpuscles in the body, so we must have in all life the individual side and the cooperative side.

Under Capitalism, as we see it developing in this, the greatest example of Capitalism, we are witnessing a socialization of capital under way. Under Socialism or under Communism you can never have any individualization of the social life. Therefore I say that under our present system, as it is developing, you have not only the best economic system that has ever yet been known in the world—far from perfect as it is—but you have a prospect which doesn't exist anywhere else.

Don't be deluded by promises. Don't think of Communism with its five-year program, which will never be realized. Take Communism as it is. Take Communism with the difference between the ideology of the enthusiast and the actual facts of the present.

As regards Socialism, while we have never yet had a chance to see what Socialism means in practice, anyone knows what practical Socialism means in this country when, for instance, under the Philadelphia gas régime, we had poor gas, with its deficit and corruption, and when the enterprise was turned over to a private company we got, as at present, good gas and cheaper gas and a large profit which even now goes to decrease the taxes of the community.

So that I close this presentation by saying that Capitalism, substantively and actually, gives us what the others have not yet given us and that it promises us far more than either of our adversaries, I think, can really, with justice, promise.

Rebuttal of Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman

. . . I am second to none, and certainly not to any of my antagonists, in the desire for a spiritual improvement of mankind. But remember that the top, the crown, the spire, the real spiritual life of a community must be built upon a material foundation. A man who starves has not time to think of the higher life.

Now, then, what is the difference between the beautiful day-dreams, the ideals that you have heard, and the realities? The reality we can find only in the Communist régime. The rest, the Socialism, is something for the future. I am going to take five minutes of my time to do what I had not expected to do and read you a little commentary, a little extract from this book[31] published one month ago.

[31] The one by Panait Istrati, see footnote, p. 396.

First, as regards production and wealth and poverty and waste—I won't mention the names because I can't pronounce the Russian names, anyway: A canal was to cost 376,000 rubles. The official statement tells us that it cost 11,000,000. Another canal was to irrigate 10,000 acres (or what corresponds to acres) of land; and it turned out, actually, that only 75 acres were irrigated. A steel plant in an important city last year had been in process of being built for three years. Twenty million rubles had been spent on it. No final plan has as yet been made. The estimated expense is now 64,000,000 rubles; and they have just discovered that, when finished, the cost will be 50 per cent. higher than it would be in the old place that they have abandoned.

This example can be multiplied by the thousands—showing that under the present system of Communist Gosplan, money is being spent extravagantly, far more than we did during the war in any of our government ventures.

Secondly, as regards the beautiful picture of the marvelous experiment, so far as the working men are concerned, in the Karl Marx factory, in one of the towns where thousands are employed, eight or nine people sleep in one room. The babies' trail is everywhere. The filth, the excrete, the stench poisons the air. And most of the employees live in such quarters.

In another big factory further south, two or three families live in a single room where venereal disease and typhus are rife. I am quoting from official reports. The living conditions are such that, in the winter, they freeze; in the summer, the water leaks through. Everything is stenched from decay, all is rotting, all is tumbling.

Still another instance will be found on page 53. You will say, "Well, things are improving." Yes, but how are they improving? The funds destined for workingmen's dwellings in this town of "G" were either stolen or wasted to the tune of 75 per cent. And, in another town, where the houses, hundreds of them, were completed, they were made uninhabitable after one year. Such are the conditions of this delightful, beautiful life in Soviet Russia.

Now we come to wages and hours. Distinguish between theory and practice—the official seven-hour day and all the other beautiful things in the labor code. In this big factory (mentioned on page 87) they work twelve hours a day. The accidents have increased 47 per cent. in the last three years. In the textile factories, as a whole, the accidents to-day are 100 per cent. more than under pre-war conditions.

These are official documents I am quoting from. In another place—the mines of Siberia—the workingmen have tried to flee; but the police in the upper districts, especially in the North, have taken the shoes away from the workmen and they are unable to go without freezing.

Finally, let me say something to you about the conditions that the average American or foreign visitor sees. What are the facts among these 160,000,000 people? Remember, the Communist Party numbers less than 2,000,000, and the active members are only 200,000. You see the privileged quarters that these enjoy. But in the children's houses at Vorofsky, for instance, we are told that in one home with 352 children there have been in six months among these children 3,096 new cases of sickness.

I forbear to quote all the other horrible and repulsive conditions which show that there is a continual degradation going on in living conditions and that the mass of the people would, if they could, rise in desperation.

We hear a great deal about the kulak and about the rich peasant. What is really happening? The kulak is the intelligent man who, by prudence and foresight, is able to get two cows where the other man has only one cow. And this whole effort of doing away with the kulak is simply to reduce everyone to the condition of the poorest and of the least intelligent and of the unprogressive members of the class.

So much for this beautiful condition that we see in Russia. I shall not speak of the prostitution of science. I shall not speak of the fact that in these ten years there hasn't been a single book in any science, which bears any comparison with those of previous conditions. I shall not speak of the horrible life that is led by those that want to devote themselves to their ideal. That has sufficiently been touched by our Socialist friend when he speaks, in measured terms, of the conditions as we find them under a tyranny the like of which the world has never seen before.

Finally, in concluding, I would say that the real point is that Communism is getting worse, whereas Capitalism is getting better.

Five years ago I addressed an audience of three thousand people in Rochester—all of them workmen. They voted me down, as Socialists. Five years later I addressed these same people; and they have all left the Socialist Party, because they are getting on, because their wages have improved, because their conditions of life are better, because they are members of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union—which shows what can be done in a community like ours, which holds to the possibility of improvement and which stands for the gradual development of the social control of the Capitalists and of the workmen in the interest of greater production, in the interest of greater opportunity, in the interest of a foundation for that spiritual life and that welfare which all of us desire and which none of us has yet succeeded in achieving.

6. THE NATURAL HISTORY OF REVOLUTIONS [32]

We may take it for certain that revolutions, even violent revolutions, will occur periodically for a long time to come. We hear some talk about substituting peaceable evolution for violent revolution, but such talk is only what the theologicians call "pious opinion"—laudable, but imaginative. No technology is being developed for the purpose of translating this talk into action. Modern political science, so called, is much like medieval physical science, largely a matter of incantations, exorcisms, and witch-hunting. Until a serious effort is made to understand revolution, no rational technique for dealing with it can be expected. The great nations employ hundreds of thousands of men and spend hundreds of millions of money on the study of the technique of war. If an equal proportion of the resources of society were expended on the study of the technique of peace, it is possible that we should presently have as well developed a scheme for helping one another as we now have for hurting one another. But "seeking peace and ensuing it" in any such rational and intelligent manner is quite beyond the mental and moral power of any present-day government or nation. Until we have thousands and tens of thousands of competently trained technicians investigating social phenomena with the same zeal and detachment that the physical scientists display in their work, we shall never escape violent revolution. How can a privileged class, which ceases to deserve its privileges, be demoted without war? How can a wealthy class, which ceases to merit its wealth, be made poor without violence? When does a social group cease to be useful and become parasitic? What causes of repression exist in our society? What is repression and how is it possible at any moment to measure its extent and nature? How much of it is due to economic conditions? What proportion of the intellectuals feel repression themselves? What proportion are aware of its existence in other classes? We must have the answers to these questions and to many more of the same sort before we can construct any machinery which will be adequate to forestall violent revolution. Modern societies carefully arrange for the study of Micrococci, the Spirochaetae, the bacilli, and all the other parasitic animal and vegetable organisms; but they carefully avoid the investigation of social parasitism, especially as it affects wealthy and influential classes. The existence of a class of parasites able to live without working, to consume without producing, is seldom recognized as a social disease unless the class is poor. No doubt the idea of the functional test for the ownership of wealth has made some slight advance in late years, but the advance is so slight that it will not affect events greatly for many years to come.

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[32] Reprinted from Edwards, Lyford P., *The Natural History of Revolution* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1927), pp. 212-217.

We have practically no machinery for avoiding violent revolution and almost no knowledge of how to construct any such machinery. We shall continue to have violent revolutions until we remedy these deficiencies.

Revolutions will be unavoidable for generations to come because both conservatives and revolutionists have the same way of thinking about society. They are both "standpatters." They both have the concept of a perfect state which is to be preserved inviolate. Their ideals differ, but the attitude of the revolutionist toward his ideal state is exactly the same as the attitude of the 100 per cent American toward the Constitution. The scheme of things which the revolutionist believes in becomes sacred to him through the struggle to attain it. So when his revolution succeeds and his form of social order is in some degree realized, he becomes the strongest of all opponents of further change. The Russian government is the only one on earth which is more conservative than the American government. Kalinin and Coolidge seem to be persons of precisely the same mentality, and they are both striving to the best of their abilities to do the same thing—that is, to maintain the existing régime in their respective countries. The soviet in Moscow and the Congress in Washington are twin brothers under the skin. The one dominant purpose of both of them is to preserve the *status quo*. Any deviation from the narrow path of rigid conformity is hated by both groups equally. Senator Smoot, excommunicating the heretical Senator La Follette, and Commissar Kalinin, excommunicating the heretical Commissar Trotsky, are as indistinguishable as Tweedledum and Tweedledee. The cabinet of President Coolidge and the cabinet of President Kalinin are as much alike as two flivvers leaving the factory in Detroit.

This fundamental identity of character between the conservatives and the revolutionists is one great reason for the endless succession of revolutions. Revolutionists are not in favor of revolution in general, but only in favor of their own kind of revolution. They do not aim at continuous change, but only at their own amount of change. A world made up of standpatters (whether conservatives or revolutionists) will have revolutions indefinitely because any given revolution merely substitutes a new set of standpatters for an old set. The essential evil about both groups is that they are *fundamentalists*. Only their repentance and conversion to the doctrine and practice of scientific social *evolution* can bring revolutions to an end. Of such repentance and conversion there is as yet little sign.

If future revolutions are unavoidable, can we predict anything as to the time when the next revolution will take place? So far as the United States is concerned, it would seem to be possible to make a reliable prophecy. If the previously given analysis of the development of revolution is at all in accord with the facts, it is certain, almost to the point of mathematical demonstration, that there is no possibility of a violent revolution in the United States within any future that need cause concern to persons now alive. The immediate symptoms of revolution are entirely absent from our society. The remote symptoms, if they exist at all, are so slight as to be unrecognizable. The enormous majority of the American people are not only content with the social order in which they live, but they are enthusiastically loyal to it and inordinately proud of it. Such discontent as exists is superficial and transitory. In regard to the volume of dissatisfaction, no equally enormous society ever had so little. No economic incentive to revolution and no new social myth are anywhere discoverable. The intelligentsia are prosperous and happy. All the other social groups are in the same condition. No such complacent, self-satisfied, and universally contented society has existed in Western civilization since the days of the Flavian Emperors of Rome. The radicalism of the United States is more conservative than the conservatism of any other great nation. An ultra-conservative British cabinet would be considered radical in Washington. This country is, with the exception of Russia, the most conservative country on earth. It is without exception the most prosperous nation in the world. This does not mean that no violent revolution will take place in the future. It very certainly does mean that no such revolution will take place within the next two, or even the next three, generations. . . .

A despotic monarchy, a haughty aristocracy, a corrupt state church, poverty, ignorance, disease, all in their most aggravated form, sum up the situation which existed in Russia before the Revolution. The best way to define the United States would be to say that it is the country where these evils either do not exist at all, or exist in the smallest degree. There is no more reason for America to become alarmed at the Russian Revolution than for the people of Florida to become alarmed at an eruption of Vesuvius. Yet, owing to the general ignorance of the nature of social upheavals, the people of the United States have developed marked cases of "nerves" in connection with revolution and revolutionary propaganda. Revolutionary propaganda is perfectly harmless in any community where social conditions are healthy. The public nervousness in the United States has been repeatedly exploited by professional politicians for their own purposes. The result has been that many thousands of humble, innocent, and useful foreign laborers have suffered undeserved hardship, imprisonment and terrorization. The possibility of the recurrence of all this needless suffering is by no means remote. It is the duty of well-informed people to prevent such an injustice by every means in their power. We have not much real knowledge of revolutions, but what we have is abundantly sufficient, if properly used, to prevent such "scares" as we have recently had. A little more light on the subject would bring great relief to multitudes of ordinary people, both Americans and foreigners, who are the victims of such "scares." The only losers would be a small group of self-seeking politicians and professional terror-mongers who capitalize popular ignorance and credulity.

7. THE PHILOSOPHY OF COMMUNISM [33]

Nothing is gained in any discussion of communism, by treating it as a wicked doctrine which would never have arisen if a handful of criminal adventurers had not devoted themselves to its propagation. Like any other system of belief, its rise is the outcome of its environment, and its acceptance by large bodies of men is no more unnatural than their acceptance of other creeds. Those to whom it appears either wicked or impossible, too impotent either from the quality of its adherents or the stubbornness of the facts it seeks to transform, to be worth sympathetic analysis, will do well to remember that in the early history of Christianity, the futility of its proponents and the folly of its doctrines probably seemed as obvious to the supporters of the Roman system.

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[33] Reprinted from Laski, Harold J., *Communism* (Henry Holt and Co., New York, 1927), pp. 238-351.

It is, of course, a dangerous doctrine. Its application involves tremendous risks, even on the showing of the communists themselves. If we assume the possibility of its success, the cost of establishing it would be enormously high; while any attempt that ended in failure might easily, by the scale of conflict it would arouse, come near to the destruction of civilized life. Neither prospect, it should be said at once, is any guarantee that the effort will not be made to give it application. As few doctrines in the world to-day, it commands a devoted service of which no man is entitled to underestimate the significance. Its adherents are not turned from their purpose either by imprisonment or death. In Germany and in Bulgaria, in Hungary and in the Far East, there is no danger they have not been willing to face in the desire to communicate their faith to others. They have the passionate zeal of the Jesuit missionary who sets out to conquer a new world for his creed.

The Communist, moreover, is playing with combustible material. Even those who reject his principles must admit the large degree of truth in the indictment that he brings against the present social order. Neither our methods of production nor our principles of distribution are capable of explanation in terms of social justice. The glaring inequalities that surround us on every side are hardly capable of overstatement. The liberation of the human spirit has not nearly kept pace with the conquest of nature by scientific discovery. The gain of living is denied to the majority of those who toil. And the more widely the realization of these disparities is spread, the more intensely do men feel that they are intolerable. That is the more natural in the disillusion that follows upon a great war. Men feel that if they are to risk their lives for the State, its benefits should be proportionate to the danger.

It is in that mood of doubt that the masses meet the idealism of the Communist faith. They hear an indictment of the conditions under which they live, which largely corresponds to their own experience. They are warned that they cannot trust to their rulers for the changes which will meet their needs. They are promised, in return for their energetic solidarity, an equal share in the gain of living as well as in its toil, a world in which there is principle instead of chaos, justice instead of privilege. To men whose environment is poisoned by insecurity, and for whom, in general, there is little hope of future benefit, the only wonder is that the promise has not proved more seductive.

Certainly, to counter its seduction means the alteration of the present social order by concessions larger in scope and profundity than any ruling class has so far been willing to make by voluntary act. It means allowing the democracy to have its way in every department of communal life, an acceptance, wholeheartedly, of Matthew Arnold's prescription, to "choose equality and flee greed." Yet it can hardly be denied that there are, in every community, groups of powerful men who make it a matter of principle to deny the validity of all concession. They display an ignorant hostility to change every whit as dangerous and provocative as the challenge they confront. They are as satisfied with the world about them, and as unconscious of its inadequacies as the Duke of Wellington in 1832. They equate doubts of the world as it is with something like original sin; and they treat them with the same self-righteous cruelty as religions have in the past treated dissent from their announced principles. They feel, like General Cavaignac, that a social order which allows its principles to be examined, and, still more, rejected, is already lost. Their blindness drives the timid to despair and the bold to desperation. They are as unprepared for the politics of rational compromise as the most extreme of their opponents; and, by their obstinacy, they produce the very situation they desire to prevent. They do not see either the inevitability of large change, or the fact that it is desirable, and possible, to concert those changes in terms of the plain wants and needs of men. They talk of the rights of property as though these were some dread Absolute, instead of principles as shifting and inconstant as anything in the historic record. They arrogate to themselves liberty to deny while they refuse to their opponents liberty to affirm

Yet the demands they confront do not decrease in volume; and every arrest of their satisfaction is a victory for the forces of disruption. The only way to defeat these is to prove to their audience that you can the better respond to its wants and propose to do so. For we cannot postulate the basic identity of human nature and continue to refuse an adequate response to similar need. We can do it the less as men at once grow conscious of their powers and aware of the irrational differences in response to need.

It is thought by some that the dubious results of the Russian experiment, the cost, further, of what success it has won, will ultimately persuade men of the errors of communism. That, it may be suggested, is a mistaken calculation so long as there exist large classes of men and women who are conscious of inadequate and frustrated lives. The French Revolution lit flames in the hearts of mankind which, because it responded to something fundamental in human nature, neither its errors nor its crimes could quench. What the working classes of the world see in Russia is less what its revolution denies than what it affirms. They see a State which, with all its faults and weaknesses, seems to them to lie at the service of men like themselves. They recognize in the demands it makes, and the principles to which it gives allegiance, their own demands and principles. We may admit that they are uncertain whether its gains outweigh the price paid for them; we may, also, agree that they resent the efforts of its leaders to force them to imitate the Russian example. But the indignation they display when (as in 1920) the security of Russia is challenged is evidence that, in an ultimate sense, the idea of the Russia Revolution stands for something of permanent value to them. The business man sees the inefficiency of Russian production; the worker sees the exaltation of the common man. The supporters of the old order warn the workers of the low level of wages, the discomfort of bad housing, the absence of political and intellectual freedom. To the workers, however, the things of import are the facts that all must toil, that communal experiment is in the interest of the masses, that no one is preferred save in terms of principle; and they have an uneasy suspicion that this atmosphere may largely compensate for the merits of the older way of life, so far as they share in them. The world, in fact, has to find response to the promise of communism in alternative forms; or it will discover that neither the crimes nor the follies of the Russian experiment will lessen its power to compel kindred action.

In a general sense, doubtless, the error of communism lies in its refusal to face the fact that this is a complex world. Its panacea is unreal simply because the world is too intricate for panaceas to have universal significance. Any solution that is offered to our problems is bound, at its best and highest, to be but partial and imperfect; no single method of social arrangement will meet the diverse needs we encounter. That means, of course, that we need not, as communism offers us, the formulae of conflict, but the formulae of coöperation. The sceptical observer is unconvinced that any system has the future finally on its side; that it is entitled, from its certainties, to sacrifice all that has been acquired so painfully in the heritage of toleration and freedom, to the chance that its victory may one day compensate for a renunciation that, on its own admission, is bound to be grim and long. He has the more right to his scepticism both from the dissatisfaction with the economic dogmas of Marxism and from the knowledge of the cost which attends its application. He may admit the possibility that, in the end, the communist may prove right, even while he retains his doubt whether success implies the realization of the ends he postulates. He may suspect whether any régime that is built on hate and fear and violence can give birth to an order rotted in fraternity. For these create an environment of which the children are, equally, hate and fear and violence. The spirit of man ever takes its revenge for degradation inflicted upon it even in the name of good.

But, whether we take the economic or the political aspects of communism, it is far more important to grasp the truths it emphasizes than to be merely denunciatory of the methods by which it seeks its ends. It was no answer to Luther to excommunicate him; the ignorant rhetoric of Burke hindered Europe rather than helped it in the understanding of 1789; and those who have sought the destruction of the new Russia have only added to, and not subtracted from, the problems of our generation. That a wide distribution of political power is worthless unless there is a similar distribution of economic power; that there can be no effective moral unity in a State divided, in Disraeli's phrase, into the two nations of rich and poor; that the absence of such unity means a violent attempt to destroy, and a violent attempt to preserve, any social order so distinguished; that men think differently who live differently, and, so thinking, lose their sense of kinship through the frustration of impulse; these are the obvious commonplaces of history. Nor is it possible to deny that, with the general tendency of governments to degenerate the lesson of experience is the continuous need to preserve by associating the widest interests with the benefits conferred by social systems. But that means a thoroughgoing reform in the direction of widening the basis of effective consent. Effective consent, in its turn, means the revision of the rights of property towards an equality greater than we have so far known, for in no other fashion can we obtain the equalization of privilege which has become the purpose of the modern State.

This is, clearly enough, to argue that it is possible and desirable to attain the ultimate aims of communism by alternative paths. And this, in a broad way, will be accepted by all who remain dissatisfied both with the achievement of capitalism and the motives upon which it rests. The compelling strength of communism is that it has a faith as vigorous, as fanatic, and compelling as any in the history of religions. It offers dogmas to those whom scepticism troubles; it brings to its believers the certitude which all great religions have conferred; above all, perhaps it implants in its adherents the belief in their ultimate redemption. If it is said that, like other religions, it destroys and persecutes, it can make the answer—which mankind has always found a convincing answer—that it destroys and persecutes in the name of truth. It is fatal to underestimate the strength of this temper. It is the thing that moved the early Christians, the Puritans of the Seventeenth Century, the legions of Mahomet, to victory, against obstacles which must have seemed insuperable to their contemporaries. To those who do not accept it, it may seem a joyless creed which takes from life its color, and a relentless creed which takes from the hearts of men the sovereign virtues of charity and justice. But to such an attitude there are at least two answers. The Puritan creed did not seem joyless to those who embraced it; on the contrary, there was for its devotees a splendor in its stern renunciation more emotionally complete than any other experience it was possible to know; and when the mind, secondly, becomes possessed of a truth it believes to be exclusive, it no longer admits that charity and justice are sovereign virtues.

"Its emotional and ethical essence," writes Mr. Keynes, of Communism, "centres about the individual's and the community's attitude to money . . . it tries to construct a framework of society in which pecuniary motives as influencing action shall have a changed relative importance, in which social approbations shall be differently distributed, and where behavior which previously was normal and respectable, ceases to be either the one or the other." This is a transvaluation of values in the degree that is the essence of religious faith. And it is worth while observing that, with all its difficulties, it has an enormous psychological appeal. The idealism of youth responds to it. It is of that inner citadel of conviction which moves the artist, the poet, the scientist, the philosopher, to their achievement. It is the mark which distinguishes those historic gestures which, as in St. Francis, or Savonarola, or George Fox, have given great leaders the power to command the loyalties of men. Even its partial success would make an epoch in the history of the world, and, even if it prove enough and intense enough, to win from those who accept it the ultimate service of heart and mind.

One cannot help insisting upon this aspect of communism because its implications are what primarily strike the detached observer who comes into contact with it. Its power to communicate the will to serve, its sense of exhilaration through contact with high purpose, its ability to make all alien from itself seem mean and unimportant, these, certainly, are beyond discussion. It gives something of the mental and moral excitement that is felt by the reader of the poetry inspired by the French Revolution, the unconquerable hope, the heedless and instinctive generosity, which makes great ends seem worth working for because they are attainable by ourselves. Most Europeans had something of that sense when the news came of the first Russian Revolution in March of 1917; it brought to them a new elasticity of mind which made the effort of victory seem emotionally easier. Most Englishmen had it again in the days after the Armistice of 1918 when it seemed possible to transfer the comradeship of coöperation in war to the days of peace.

The question that this raises for ourselves is whether capitalism is likely to inspire in the hearts of even those who live by its results emotions of similar intensity. We live in a civilization which avowedly separates its economic practice from its religious and moral faith. That means that its economic practice must, as Mr. Keynes has pointed out, be enormously successful if it is to survive. It must be able to leave men so circumstanced that there is room in the lives of the rank and file as well as of the leaders to be ends for themselves as well as means through which others move to their appointed purpose. In no other fashion can the capitalistic system win the loyalty of the mass. It is no longer either optimistic or self-confident as it was in the days of Nassau Senior and McCulloch. It acts, in almost every sphere, as a body of ideas and practices that is permanently on the defensive. It is significant, for instance, that whereas a hundred years ago it did not have to square its accounts with the Churches, because these were prostrate before its achievement, today the Churches increasingly insist that the economic system must be judged in the terms of their religious message. It is significant because the ultimate dogma of the Churches is the conviction of the basic equality of men. And for those increasing numbers to whom official religions of all kinds make little or no moral appeal, capitalism, certainly, has nothing of spiritual significance to offer. The Puritan could be hard and grim in riches or poverty because his real life was not of this world. But those who lack the conviction such confidence brings will not be content with an economic system which limits to so few the possibility of an inner harmony. That is why, it may be urged, there are so many Russians who regard the economic failures of the Revolution as insignificant alongside the spiritual liberation it has brought to them. And it is not improbable that others weary of material failure and spiritual inertia, may be persuaded, with all its dangers, to think likewise.

Therein, certainly, is the lesson that the communist theory enforces; and we have either to learn that lesson in other ways or to admit the prospect that no means of avoiding its consequences are at our disposal. Communism has made its way by its idealism and not its realism, by its spiritual promise, not its materialistic prospect. It is a creed in which there is intellectual error, moral blindness, social perversity. Religions make their way despite these things. Mankind in history has been amazingly responsive to any creed which builds its temple upon spiritual heights. The answer to the new faith is not the persecution of those who worship in its sanctuary, but the proof that those who do not share its convictions can scan an horizon not less splendid in the prospect it envisions nor less compelling in the allegiance it invokes.

8. A CRITIQUE OF COMMUNISM [34]

Every social movement in history must be judged in the light of its historical antecedents as well as by its achievements and the progress which it has made in eliminating injustice. The evils of the reactionary, hypocritical Tsar's régime were great. Communism is a step forward in comparison. Bolshevik leaders with their dream of a new and better social order will be remembered not alone because of their mistakes, but also because of their service to the world in completely destroying antecedent evils in Russia. The devotion and sacrifice which the Communist leaders showed in spite of exile, prison, and death, deserve emulation.

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[34] By Jerome Davis. From Page, Kirby (ed.), *A New Economic Order* (New York, Harcourt Brace & Co., 1930), pp. 89-91.

Every movement must be finally appraised not by its weaknesses alone, but by the totality of forces which it helped to set in motion. The Communist rulers seized the resources of a great country, embracing one-sixth of the land surface of the earth, yet renounced the opportunity to enjoy for their selfish personal pleasure the material benefits so acquired. They conscientiously tried to use the natural resources of the country for what they believed to be the best interests of the overwhelming mass of workers and peasants in Russia and throughout the world. While strongly opposing some of the principles for which they suffered or died, we must admire their courage, sincerity, and devotion to duty as they saw it. . . . Considering their background and the heritage of a Tsar's tyranny the Bolsheviks may have accomplished relatively more than many of us here with our democratic culture and our tradition of liberty. This article taken by itself will not give a fair picture of what is happening in Russia. Every American should also know the other side; he is urged to visit Soviet Russia to see and appraise conditions for himself.

If a visitor from Mars should suddenly find himself in a position to observe what was happening in Russia, his first query might be, "What are they trying to do?" He would be told that the goal of Communism is a state characterized by:

1. The basic means of production and distribution under the collective will.
2. No classes—one society of producers.
3. No great state power but free associations of toilers.
4. No antagonism between town and village.
5. A distributive mechanism controlled on the principle: to each according to his need, from each according to his ability.
6. A world system of economics.

The visitor from Mars might be greatly impressed with the "nobility of these ideals," but he would after all test Communism largely by its present tactics. He then might be amazed to discover that in building the structure the Communists to some extent have diametrically contradicted their principles. For instance, they posit no antagonism between town and village, yet actually there is continual friction and distrust between the ordinary village peasant and the city proletariat. The Bolsheviks aim to abolish classes, but frankly laud a class psychology based on the factory worker and the "dirt farmer" or peasant. In principle they oppose a great state power, in practice they have built up one of the strongest state political machines in history. The question inevitably arises whether any group can achieve ends via contradictory means.

It is conceivable that the Martian might partially excuse these inconsistencies as part of the birth pains of the new social order. He would, however, be amazed by the dogmatic self-assurance of the Communist theoreticians, who contend that what they term Communism holds the key for the abolition of all evils and, if universally adopted, would mean the dawn of the millennium. The Martian might question this sweeping assumption and reason somewhat as follows:

In the abysmal ignorance to which the Earthians are still subject, is it not a caricature of truth to assume that any plan formulated by them now can have universal validity or be final? The Communists forget the complexity of the world. Their remedy is like a patent medicine. It may do more good than harm in the case of a terrible malady such as Tsarism, but in more normal complaints it might be injurious, or even fatal. What the Earthians in their present ignorance need is many and varying kinds of political experimentation. Communism in Russia is an interesting political device for educating the Russian workers and peasants. Other countries need quite different types of political control. In the light of varying experiments each country will learn from the mistakes and achievements of the other and the political system finally worked out will be unlike any now existant. Communists should recognize that an economic mechanism which may be right for Russia may be wrong for America, that labor union tactics which aid the workers of Russia may be paralyzing to the far different culture of England. The Communists are reasoning too exclusively from their limited environmental setting and hence are trying to reform the world unreasonably. The rigid control and direction of Communist parties in other countries by the dominant Russian wing is unjustified.

If the visitor from Mars were to remain long in Russia, he would find that every party orator accepted the theories of Marx including the materialistic concept of history as communistic gospel. Yet he would find that the lives of the Communists themselves belie the theory. Apparently many of the older revolutionists have been willing to give their lives for an ideal; service to a class became their religion. The materialistic concept is further negated by the fact that while the Communists have set aside wealth and the profit motive as diabolic lust for gain, many of their leaders worship at the shrine of power. This can readily be seen in the inner disputes within the Communist Party, where scarcely any one of the old leaders is willing to give up positions of power and prestige. Zinoviev made an extraordinary fight against being deprived of his leadership in Leningrad. Stalin uses political methods strongly akin to some American varieties to keep himself in the key position within the Communist Party. Trotsky fought so vigorously against being deprived of power that he tried to set up an illegal rival party machine, and even now in exile Trotsky claims a secret organization and supporters in the army.

It is conceivable that Communist theory may be, and probably is, wrong in various particulars. Certainly the Bolsheviks themselves ever since taking the power have been changing their technique to make it work. In the early days of the Russian revolution the Bolsheviks attempted to confiscate all the peasants' grain above actual living requirements. Today they tax them on a fixed scale approaching the method used in capitalistic countries. The Communists used to assail bitterly the piece-rate system of production. Today they have installed the output test and are lauding mass production and capitalistic theories of rationalization. Once a gold secured currency was "a device of the devil,"—today they are trying desperately to keep their currency on a gold basis without depreciation. Once the Bolsheviks in large measure tried to equalize wages, today they permit wide variations; expert capitalists and inventors may even become millionaries. While these changing methods may do credit to the Bolsheviks and show their adaptability to the concrete realities of present conditions, they can only under great strain be reconciled with orthodox Communistic theory.

Communism is also at fault in its rigid acceptance of dogmatic atheism. It is not surprising that men who were brought up in contact with an orthodox religion supported and controlled by a dying Tsar's autocracy should oppose all religion. To some extent in trying to substitute science for superstition the Bolsheviks are rendering service. Dr. Spinka of the Chicago Divinity School after a study of religion under the Soviets maintains that the Bolsheviks have done genuine religion more service in ten years by fighting it than the Tsar's government did in a century of supporting it. Nevertheless, the Bolsheviks seem to be totally unable to comprehend that there may be a religion which is in harmony with the best that science teaches. Accepting the scientific philosophy dominant in their university days the Communists have not fully accepted the revolution which science itself has undergone. The work of Eddington, Milliken, and Einstein with the potential religious implication of the changed scientific outlook seem lost on the Communistic mind. They do not recognize the possibility of a religion which accepts every scientific law and is itself working in the interests of truth and on behalf of the workers and peasants.

Bolshevism destroys and persecutes religion in the name of truth. But in trying to destroy all that goes under the name of religion they may in reality be attacking part of truth itself. The religion they are fighting is a caricature of religion at its highest and best. Yet in their fanaticism they do not realize that in this mysterious universe in which humanity finds itself, there may be forces within religion which are as true and scientific as sunlight or nature—even matter. Yet the Bolsheviks would prohibit anyone who has faith in any form of Christianity from belonging to their party. In so doing they prove themselves fanatics of dogmatic atheism. They permit the most absurd propaganda to circulate freely—for instance, books arguing that Jesus Christ never existed, or that in reality

Christ was a libertine and a selfish exploiter. It may be argued that for the sake of the freedom of the press this is defensible, but then why should they prohibit and censor books and periodicals which defend religion in the light of the highest scientific knowledge we have? To be sure the churches are open, religious freedom for the individual exists, but church schools are in the main debarred. No one who expresses fearlessly his faith in a living God and tries to convert others to share his faith can be sure what persecution he may suffer.

The method which the Bolshevik censor has used with religious periodicals is to remove everything interesting and allow to circulate only that which is dull. Lately the Russian government has even passed a law prohibiting the church from doing social service and welfare work. This is, if anything, even more unfair to a religious faith than the restrictions regarding religious education. How can religion be anything but a mockery of the Christ spirit if it does not translate its creed into definite service for the peasants and workers? In reality in requiring a rigid divorce between applied Christianity and Christian theory, the Bolsheviks are negating the inner essence of religion. It is strange that at this point the Bolsheviks should join hands with some of the most reactionary capitalists. For in America conservative and wealthy interests are continually asking the church to refrain from applying the social implications of the Christian faith to our social order—precisely the Bolshevik position.

Besides the objections already raised, some of the methods of Communism are questionable. For instance, even such a historic method as mass violence may in the end prove to be too costly. It is commonly said that "the end justifies the means." But violence makes absolutely impossible the highest end until a better means is found. In other words, belief in a force psychology may finally prove fallacious. To be sure the Bolsheviks do not believe in revolution unless it can be successful, and it is generally true that the masses of mankind are too patient and long-suffering to revolt unless there exists real injustice. On the other hand, the preaching of the doctrine that little or no progress can come outside of Russia except by violence and bloody revolutionary movements is preposterous. Yet while most Americans will agree that the Russians are wrong in their advocacy of force, capitalist countries have scant grounds for opposing Communism on the basis of violence. If Belgium is invaded, we assume a nation is justified in sending armies to protect her. If American property is threatened, we feel we have a right to send marines and airplanes to kill men in South America to protect our economic rights. The Communists share our faith in violence; they differ in their concepts of injustice. They feel that injustice is being done to millions of our workers in capitalistic countries. This injustice justifies revolutionary violence. The violence caused by the world war which, directly or indirectly, destroyed thirty-five millions, may be just as dangerous, or more so, than the communist theory of violence and revolution. However, it is conceivable that both theories may be wrong. The costs of success in either case may not be commensurate with the progress achieved.

A formula of coöperation is higher than a formula of power through bloodshed. Here again the dogmatism of the Communists who, because they have once succeeded in winning power through revolution, thereupon preach revolution as the only road to truth, beauty, and happiness for all, is extremely dubious. Their formula to some extent is a class formula. They would rule out as enemies all those who do not belong to the one class. Their ideal is a future society in which there shall be only a group of workers. But the technique of violence and bloodshed may inevitably perpetuate various classes rather than annihilate all except one. Such a philosophy is unfair to other classes, and it tends to build up hatred in the minds and hearts of both the dominant and persecuted groups. Hatred is always a destructive force and tends to destroy truth, beauty, and happiness. Therefore, the reaction against hatred is divisive, it creates classes. If one believes in opposing injustice wherever it exists, Communism in its attempt to destroy all classes except the orthodox and approved workers, is unconsciously opposing certain groups who are working self-sacrificingly for the good of all along different lines. Then, too, may not Communism have too completely ignored the individual in its philosophy just as capitalism may have gone much too far in ignoring social philosophy? If this is true, we should expect to see the slow pressure of societal evolution forcing America into collective channels and Russia into more of individualism. To some extent there has been a trend in both countries to warrant such an hypothesis.

Russia has decreed the socialization of both industry and agriculture. But to build an industrial nation requires large purchases of machinery from abroad. It has been thought that this could be paid for with grain. The peasant, however, refuses to deliver his grain except as he receives in return manufactured supplies at low cost. If grain is not forthcoming in sufficient quantities and manufactured food products are exported instead, then there follows scarcity in Russia with rationing and discontent among the city proletariat. So Russia tries to attract foreign capital through a more liberal concession policy and through offering more attractive rewards to the individual who produces gold, platinum, lumber, grain, et cetera. But this is inconsistent with the theory of Communism. Another concomitant of too rigid state ownership and control may be bureaucracy. Certainly Russia is afflicted with this disease, as the Bolsheviks themselves recognize all too well.

It also seems that Communist theory of the absolute supremacy of the group at every point may to some extent make them deny the principle of the infinite worth of each human personality. According to their theory any life should be sacrificed wherever necessary for the good of the cause. This opens the door to the Red Terror. The Communists themselves admit that they have been harsh to monarchists, millionaries and the old intellectual classes. In fact, the persecution of these classes has been most cruel and bitter. The extent of the Red Terror, while understandable, seems to have been very much greater than was essential, even assuming that it was necessary at all. To be sure, the Red Terror was no worse than the White Terror. From various investigations it is doubtful if it was as bad; but two wrongs do not make either right.

Possibly the gravest objection to Communism as at present conducted is its lack of liberty. For liberty in Russia is a class liberty. The masses of the peasants and workers are free, but there is a legality for one political party only—the Communist Party. It is questionable whether one party machine, no matter how self-critical, can assemble all the wisdom in the universe, so as to be free from serious blunders; but in Russia anyone who opposes the party in action is considered a traitor. The Communists started out by granting freedom within the party; they end by denying freedom to those who differ within the party. All history teaches that political parties make irreparable mistakes. But Communism rigorously forbids any minority from challenging a policy once it has been adopted. Does not this pave the way for costly errors and irretrievable blunders? If this policy had been dominant in the United States it would have meant the imprisonment of William Lloyd Garrison and the abolitionists on the slavery issue. Certainly it can hardly be assumed even by the Communists that the majority is always right.

It is certain that had Lenin lived, for instance, the recent party split would never have assumed present proportions. Some way would have been found to use the Trotsky opposition for the benefit of the party and their cause. Granting that even today there is a great measure of self-criticism permitted, nevertheless, seeing the leaders who have done so much for Communism as Trotsky are expelled from the party and exiled from the country, one is inevitably convinced that as with some of our early religious forefathers, freedom is rigidly limited to those who interpret the faith along lines strictly orthodox and acceptable to those in power.

The Communists have a rigid control of the press. There is censorship of everything. Nothing is printed which is not passed on and approved by Communists. There is a rigid control of the theatre, moving pictures, and radio. Pacifists do not have the right to broadcast. There is a strict control of organizations and meetings; even within the party there is such strict control that in the past it was treason to publish Lenin's last statement to the party. Only the ruling group were in a position to interpret what was legitimate criticism and what was illegitimate. Consequently, the rank and file are unable to hear the case of a man who opposes the major clique at any point. To an impartial onlooker it would seem as if the Russian Soviet government is now so firmly established and impregnable that it should welcome criticism from minority groups and practice toleration rather than suppression. As radicals, should not Communists be jealous in guarding those minority groups who are fighting sincerely for an ideal? In actual fact the Communists have far more rigidly persecuted war resisters than we have in America.

In spite of the fact that a very strong case can be made against Communism, there has been a real spiritual liberation in Russia which has followed the Revolution. For Communism is a spiritual force. It holds up the ideal of economic liberty and equality. Communism is not free from intellectual error. It is blind, it is dogmatic, but it has made its way in spite of these faults by its idealism and its spiritual hope rather than its materialistic promise. Most faiths make their way because of their ideals and in spite of their faults. Humanity is responsive to any group which is sincere and sacrifices for a cause which it holds true. The answer to such a new faith is not suppression and persecution, but rather the building of a social order in which there is less injustice, more of brotherhood. We must meet the challenge of Communism by creating a nation which has more truth, beauty, equality, and liberty for all the working classes.

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Zu spät, kamerad,
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BOOK V

FASCISM

QUESTIONS ON FASCISM

1. What are the chief causes of Fascism?
2. To what qualities and what circumstances are due the leadership of Mussolini?
3. What is the underlying philosophy of Fascism?
4. What advantages does the Charter of Labor give to the Italian workers? What disadvantages?
5. Precisely what do you understand by the political doctrine of Fascism? Just how does it differ from American democracy? Do you see any danger in Mussolini's instruction to Italian Prefects?
6. What advantages and what disadvantages does the Italian election law and the Grand Council system have over the political mechanism of the United States?
7. How far is it valid to speak of Fascism as a religion?
8. Evaluate the concrete achievements of Mussolini.
9. Is Fascism better or worse than Bolshevism? Why?
10. How do you account for the striking difference in the treatment by our press of Fascisti success in Italy and that of the Bolsheviki in Russia?
11. What sociological lesson, if any, can you discover from the Fascist movement?
12. Has Mussolini been responsible for progress or retrogression, or both? Explain and prove your position.

QUESTIONS FOR THOUGHT

1. Is efficiency which increases industrial production desirable if it takes away liberty?
2. Have you noted any tendencies toward a movement somewhat similar to Fascism in the United States?

I. HISTORY AND CAUSES

EVERY movement has its background. It does not spring ready-made to life without struggle and opposition. Fascism is no exception to the rule. It grew up in Italy because it found a fertile soil.

THE DAWN OF FASCISM [1]

Origin of the Word "Fascism"

The word comes from *fascio,* a group or cluster; it is used of a cluster of plants or branches which grow stronger by being thus bound together. A *fascio* of sticks with a battle-axe in their midst was carried by the Roman lictors: it was from the lictors' fasces that the Fascists derived their emblem.

There was once before in Italy a political movement which also bore the name of *fasci,* a Sicilian peasant movement, led by the Socialists in 1893, but which died a natural death.

The immediate predecessors of Fascism itself were the *Fasci di combattimento,* or groups of armed men which flourished between October 1914 and May 1915. Under these were enrolled the Socialists, Republicans, Anarchists and Syndicalists who were in favour of Italy's intervention in the European war then in progress, and who were anxious to give a revolutionary aspect to the war. These *fasci* had but a transitory existence, but many of their adherents, Mussolini amongst the first, were to be found in the post-war Fascist movement.

After the month of October 1917 and the unfortunate business of Caporetto, a group of deputies of the Right, the Centre and the Left, who wished at all costs to avoid a return of the Giolitti policy or a separate and inconclusive peace, were called the *Fascio di difesa nazionale*—the group of national defence.

In this group were included several parliamentarians who later on joined the Fascists, and who were in certain respects its immediate predecessors in their capacity of defenders of the victory which was as yet only a myth.

Formation of "Italian Armed Groups"

The origin of Fascism can be traced to the war. Those classes which had been in favor of the war and had borne its burden were convinced of its righteousness by reason of its democratic ideals as set forth by the Government upon its declaration. The belief had been established amongst these men that upon their return, with the glory of victory behind them, they should receive from their country those special privileges of which such extravagant promise had been made them. They were to be the leaders of the future in place of those who had stayed behind in safety: young, full of enterprise, and deserving, they should replace the old régime in politics and the bureaucracy, grown slothful, corrupt, unintelligent and incapable of bringing its views into line with the needs imposed by a new order of things. They had created "a great Italy," and to them should fall the task of completing the task they had begun. On demobilization the land should go to the men, to the officers the reins of government.

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[1] The selection following is taken by permission from Prezzolini's *Fascism,* pp. 1-37. Published and copyrighted by E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., New York.

But the ex-service men, on their return, found a very different welcome awaiting them from what they had been led to expect.

In the beginning of 1919 Italy was cast into a state of turmoil. Once ended the distorting tension of war and the fictitious sense of well-being guaranteed by the support of the Great Powers, she found herself all at once faced by grave problems: demobilization, which would cast a host of surplus men upon the country; the beginning of a slump in an industry temporarily swollen to meet the demands of the army and which must now necessarily undergo a technical metamorphosis and find new markets; confusion in all branches of service—public, municipal, provincial and national—until they should have adapted themselves to the new order; the financial crisis which threatened Italy as soon as the support of the Allies was withdrawn; the solving of national and international problems accruing from the Peace Conference; the consequences of the social revolution brought about during the war by the new distribution of capital; and, finally, the confusion induced by the undefined and undefinable aspirations of a mass of political ignorami, who, by virtue of the franchise, found themselves called upon to do their part towards political reconstruction at so difficult a point in the nation's history. In 1913 the electorate numbered 3,329,147—that is to say, one-twelfth of the population; in 1919 it numbered 11,115,441—that is to say, 29.3 per cent of the population; but the newly enfranchised, instead of being educated in the school of politics, knew only the school of war!

The State, faced with these formidable problems, did not prove itself equal to its task. Incapable of energy or of any clearly defined ideas, lacking, what is more, the moral strength which alone could have roused a country sunk in general sloth, the Government devoted all its activities to foreign politics, without, even in this respect, making it their business to fulfil the expectations of their country. In fact they gave the impression of having washed their hands entirely of the life and internal interests of the nation.

No sooner had the economic and financial upheaval begun to make itself felt (following upon the closing down of the munitions of war industry, the rise in the cost of living due to the rise in foreign exchanges, and the increased demand in proportion to the supplies available) than the equilibrium of the masses went to pieces. Strikes broke out in every branch of industry, and in the absence of any organized government action the extremists were fired with the idea that the hour was ripe for political revolution, while the rulers relied on the general dislocation, on the confused and ill-defined character of the revolutionary spirit fostered by stories of Red Russia, on the essentially materialistic aspirations of the masses, on the destroyed faith of the peasants who had listened eagerly during the war to rumours of a division of the land amongst the agriculturists; but they relied above all on the innate war-hatred of the majority, who had nevertheless gone to war to make an end of it.

It was this hatred first and foremost which finally decided their line of action in favour of urging a strong course to be adopted in both questions, political and social. The greatest psychological error of the Socialists was when they taunted the middle classes with this same war-hatred, for even though they might have joined the ranks of the malcontents, either because of the unfilled promises made them during the war or because of the unsatisfactory nature of the victory, they could not join with the Socialists in reviling a war which they had entered voluntarily, for which they had suffered and sacrificed themselves, and of which they had hoped and still did hope for much.

It was to this critical state of affairs and to this confusion that the troops returned, when they had looked forward to such a very different welcome. The Promised Land which had shaped itself during the last years of the war out of the promises made by the Government, seemed to be lost, and its loss brought with it the bitterness of disillusionment. Many of those who had given up position, profession or other work, returned to find their places occupied, and were compelled to begin again from the beginning of things. They saw about the streets of the towns crowds of pleasure-seeking people, shopkeepers miraculously and unjustly enriched, labourers earning more than they, peasants who had become landed proprietors, and their own economic position worsted thereby. The failure both in word and deed of the Government, that Government which had been so generous in its promises to them, to come to their rescue, only accentuated their resentment. It was not to be wondered at, then, that revolutionary feeling ran high and that thousands of people were incited to march under any flag that offered itself, provided that it was against the Government.

As it turned out, many of them flocked beneath the red flag, and all would have done likewise but for the Socialist leaders, who, in their blind hatred of war, roused the masses equally against the groups of ex-service men recruited from the middle classes—intellectuals, clerks, students and professional men—and who could not bring themselves to forswear in such a wholesale manner their ideals and patriotic and national aspirations.

These particular men constituted the section of the population most to be pitied. From their ranks had been recruited the officers. They had subscribed more than any other class towards the maintenance of the defensive, and consequently to the victory, and by way of reward they received the least recompense of all. While the economics of war had favoured the upper industrial middle classes, the workmen drawing high wages and safely out of the trenches, the peasants enriched by the rise in the cost of living, the middle classes were suffering impoverishment and disillusion. That class which, in constituting public opinion, had decided in favour of intervention, was made to realize at the cessation of hostilities that another class of society had arisen and supplanted them in the economic as well as in the political world.

Disillusioned by broken faith, by the interception of their proposed attack upon the Socialists, by the failure of the authorities to satisfy national and Nationalist aspirations arising from the war, it was the ruling classes, the Socialists and the masses that these people found themselves up against, and against whom they had to safeguard not only themselves but their hearths and homes.

A sign of the times was the founding of societies of ex-soldiers in towns throughout the kingdom, societies with various political programmes, some of them embodying the most radical spirits, such as the *Futuristi* and the *Arditi,* whose sentimental and Nationalist claims, and opposition to the current Socialist tendencies, had much in common with Benito Mussolini's programmes of reconstruction after the victory and appreciation of the ex-service men. Mussolini had himself been one of them and edited the *Popolo d'Italia,* a paper representative, as its sub-title testified, of "producers and ex-service men."

It was upon the initiative of Mussolini that there was a meeting in Milan on the 23rd March 1919, at the headquarters of the Industrial and Commercial Association, Piazza San Sepolcro, of the delegates from the various groups adhering to his programme. There were present, besides Mussolini (who immediately took the lead because of his moral and physical superiority to all the others), T. F. Marinetti, Giovanni Giuriati, Michele Bianchi, Canzio Garibaldi, General G. Douhet, Mario Carli, representing the *Fasci futuristi d'Italia,* representatives of the *Fascio futurista* in Rome, Piero Bolzon, Massimo Rocca, representing the *Fasci futuristi* in Florence, Ferrara and many others. This meeting was the occasion of the fusion of the various groups, and the formation of the *Fasci italiani di combattimento.* Michele Bianchi was made secretary of the Milan *Fascio.*

Programme of the "Fasci"

Many factors contributed to the determination of the first programme of the *Fasci,* a programme which showed a marked radical tendency. Amongst these were: the origin of the men who took the lead in the *Fasci* movement; the greater part of whom had been banished from the Socialist party, in which they had occupied the benches on the Left; the character of this *avant-garde* political movement which, between 1914 and 1919, had influenced all new movements; and the question of the ex-service men, principally of the proletarian and lower middle classes whose interests they had undertaken to safeguard.

This programme, issued by the constituent Assembly on the 23rd March, 1919, was based on the principle of the rights and wrongs of the revolutionary war (the war waged by the *Fasci d'azione,* led by these same men in 1914, was looked upon by them as revolutionary), and outlined its aspirations as Nationalist in external politics and reformatory in internal politics.

With regard to internal reform their programme was based upon four fundamental factors—political, social, military and financial. In the matter of politics it put forward a proportionate electoral scale, the granting of votes to women, the lowering of the age limit for deputies from thirty-three to twenty-five years, the abolition of the Senate, the calling of a National Assembly of three years' duration with the establishment of a new Constitution as its chief aim, the founding of regular national Councils for labour, industry, transport, communications, social hygiene, etc., chosen from amongst their own ranks and endowed with legislative powers. In the matter of social reform it demanded an eight-hour day for labourers and peasants, the participation of the workers' representatives in all technical industrial questions, the handing over of industrial management, particularly in the public services, to the workers' organizations (for example, the railways should be under the direction of the railwaymen's union).

With regard to the military, it suggested the formation of a national militia with a short period of training, for exclusively defensive purposes; the nationalization of munition and equipment factories. In the question of finances it demanded a heavy super-tax upon capital, the sequestration of a percentage of the wealth of religious bodies, and the abolition of certain privileges hitherto enjoyed by the clergy, especially in their higher ranks; and the revision of certain contracts for military equipment, together with the appropriation of 85 per cent of war profits.

In foreign politics the programme emphasized the Nationalist tendencies of the *Fasci,* who, in this respect, supported the same claims as the Nationalist party itself—that is to say, the revision of the London Pact so as to incorporate Fiume and the whole of Dalmatia, a claim which gained strength from the very outset by the opposition of the nuclei of *futuristi,* of ex-service men and of ex-*Arditi* to a speech of Leonida Bissolati posted for a date in January at the Scala Theatre in Milan, in support of a policy for the abandoning of both Dalmatia and Brenner.

Their Activities

The *Fasci di combattimento* included all those patriotic and liberal elements which the Socialists in their unreasoning aversion to war had so unwittingly fostered. Socialist opposition was concentrated against the *Fasci* because they were run by deserters from the Socialist ranks, who were consequently looked upon as traitors, and who, for their own part, regarded war on Socialism as their chief *raison d'être,* and an excellent opportunity to rekindle old hatreds of Socialist leaders.

However, during the time which elapsed between the spring of 1919 and the end of the occupation of the factories (a victory which marked the ruin of revolutionary hopes) the activities of the *Fasci* had but small compass. What activities there were were of no national importance, but merely local, and this fact applies particularly to Milan. Their greatest strength lay in their alliance to the bands of Arditi; in fact, their first strong action, namely, the attack on the newspaper known as the *Avanti!* in April 1919, was originated by the *Arditi,* with whom the Milanese *Fascio* joined forces on some occasions. It was but a remote connection that the *Fasci* had with D'Annunzio's enterprise in Fiume in 1919, though they supported and approved his venture, contributing thereto a small force and their public favour, but it cannot be said that success was due either to their action or to their encouragement.

Even in the elections of 1919 in November, the *Fasci* showed up but feebly, for their candidates, Mussolini and Marinetti, only obtained some 4700 votes in Milan.

Nevertheless, they began to work upon the public by means of pamphlets, speeches and patriotic demonstrations; their attitude being one of merciless criticism and opposition, nay, even death, to Socialism, its methods and revolutionary postulates. But at the same time they did not withhold censure from a Government ineffectual and lazy both in home and foreign politics, which, having betrayed the men who had fought, was now betraying the entire nation at the table of the Peace Conference. Nor was censure withheld from the lax and fearful middle classes who could not even stand up for themselves, but were prepared to treat with the enemy; against them they directed their shafts as well as against the Socialist leaders, and from that point one begins to notice anti-plutocratic tendencies which grew to be a feature of the Fascism of the Left.

Nitti and Giolitti

Fascism had its genesis under the governments of Nitti and Giolitti, encountering opposition from the former and support from the latter.

Under Facta it bore the fruits of the two preceding ministries, and with the "March on Rome" laid hands upon the State.

Fascists regarded these three governments as a reign of failure, disorder and treachery, but to what extent this is true of the actual facts is a question.

Francesco-Saverio Nitti was perhaps one of the most hated men in all Italy. No slightest cause for condemnation was he spared, and it must be confessed that he did all that lay in his power to render himself detestable to Italians and to weave about his own name a legend of treachery. But the actual truth is very far removed from the legend. Nitti was no traitor; he was a weakling who was the victim even of his nobler qualities.

He came of a poor family in the South, and he hewed for himself, through determination and hard work, first as professor and then as a lawyer, the road to the seat of the mighty. He had no originality, but sponged upon others for ideas. His most notable work, which brought him renown in Italy, was his book on the North and the South, which was after all only a clever summing up of the researches of Giustino Fortunato, the man who first brought up the "question of the South" in Italy. Here he showed, following the reasonings of his friend and patron, that Southern Italy is naturally a poor country and that her distressful condition is due to her union with the rest of Italy, and the severe régime of politics and taxation to which the North has subjected her. The works which rendered his name world-famous after he had signed, as Prime Minister of Italy, the Treaty of Versailles, were *l'Europa senza pace* (A Peaceless Europe) and *La Tragedia dell'Europa* (The Tragedy of Europe) —nothing more than vain repetitions, skilful paraphrases and amplifications of the books of Keynes. . . .

The amnesty granted to deserters is, perhaps, his chief title to the base infamy attributed to him by patriots. But this measure, which was a necessary step in preventing a revival of brigandage in Italy, erred only in the form it adopted. A very slight measure, some amendment rather than an Act of Parliament, would have sufficed to remove from the decree in question the hateful tenor of its expression, offensive alike to the families of ex-soldiers and of those who had lost their lives in the war. But, for that matter, Nitti's action has met with approval from many Conservatives, even from Mussolini himself.

Nitti's shortcomings were, in fact, very different from those with which the Fascists reproached him. Had he carried on a financial policy in favour of the capitalists, as he is alleged to have done, a policy whereby he reaped his own reward, as was so often insinuated, erroneously withal, he would in all probability have gained for himself a stronger support from the Press than he had the good fortune to enjoy throughout his ministry.

His attitude to the Fiume affair is understandable if one bear in mind the "fears" in which he lived: fear of the Allies; fear of the army; fear of D'Annunzio himself; fear of the Socialists.

Hardly had Giolitti reappeared upon the political horizon whence his neutrality of 1915 would seem to have banished him for ever, and taken once more into his own hands the reins of government, but one recognized the cynic who breathed no word of cynicism, the governor who despised the men he governed, but who knew how to achieve his ends by proffered honours, menaces and rewards.

Giolitti, too, was a son of the people, born of a Piedmontese family in very modest circumstances; but whereas Nitti had revealed a brilliant mentality as lawyer and writer in the school of journalism and a professorship, Giolitti mounted slowly through the lowly channels of a solicitor, silently, doggedly, acquiring a profound knowledge of the Italian bureaucratic system, and showing a shrewd dexterity in turning to public account the private ambitions and interests of mankind. He soon gained the upper hand with the bureaucracy and with the army, for he feared not D'Annunzio, and after once having concluded the Rapallo Pact with Yugoslavia, he did not hesitate to use this as an implement against Fiume, being careful not to give the matter more importance than if it had simply been a little affair for the police.

Nitti had fought Fascism without in any way undermining it. Giolitti made the great mistake of trying to use it for his own purposes, and, as often happens in the case of those who try to call up spirits, when he had armed them and given them his support, he found them ranged against him, hostile and strong. Giolitti found in his Parliament a great evil in the law regarding proportionate ballot introduced by Nitti, whereby every party claimed representation in the Government in proportion to its numbers; hence a period of undisciplined and unstable government, dominated by forces outside the bounds of Parliament. His first step was therefore to dissolve Parliament, hoping in an election to be able to build up a Government which would permit him to repeal a law which ran counter to his old experience of the master exercising his patronage; and in order to turn the election in the right course—that is to say, to destroy the Socialist and Popular parties—he armed the Fascists, believing that after the elections he would be able to absorb and dominate them. A double disillusion! The elections did not turn out as Giolitti had planned. Parliament was made up of practically the same forces; and the Fascists, once armed and under police protection, gained so much ascendancy with the middle classes, with their youth, their courage and their determination, that it dawned upon the heads of Finance, of Agriculture and of Industry that through Fascism alone could they put down Socialism and re-establish order in Italy.

However, government became ever more difficult as a result of party dissension, and when Giolitti, faithful to his policy of abandoning the Government on every occasion when things threatened to become serious, resigned, a man third-rate in intellect and purpose, the deputy Facta, was the only one to take his place, because none of the parties feared him, and all the leaders believed that they would be able to supplant him whenever the opportunity offered.

In this intellectually and morally impoverished atmosphere the plant of Fascism found the oxygen necessary to its rapid and strong growth. It was the negative activity of a Government rapidly falling to pieces rather than the Fascist principles that drove the people into the arms of the Fascists, on condition that they would rescue them from this nightmare of confusion. Just as, two years before, these same people had gone the length of desiring a revolution on the lines of Bolshevism, so they now saw in Fascism the inspired messenger of peace, order and security. In the heart of an Italian State capable of abandoning the power to no matter what force that might organize itself for the purpose, be it a party of scavengers, Fascism strove to create a sound State, with recognized hierarchies, a recognized leader, and eventually an armed militia and responsible councils capable of establishing and administering their power with an ordered discipline hitherto unknown in the annals of the State.

The Growth of Fascism

The Bolshevist spirit in Italy towards the end of 1919 and in the beginning of 1920 was on the wane, for various reasons, and particularly because of the spread of a new element, which had grown up in the atmosphere of Communist propaganda and of a Russian Utopia. The economic protest of the summer of 1919 against the sudden rise in the cost of living, which the Socialist leaders had feared to turn to account, was in itself a proof of the inability of the Socialists to raise a revolution, and this gave rise to a feeling of disillusion and doubt regarding the revolutionary ideals of the masses. Moreover, when the greater part of the working classes and peasants, who had joined Socialist, industrial and political societies, attracted by visions of a social revolution resulting, as they firmly believed, in the supremacy of their own classes as well as in other unlimited material advantages; when they saw their revolutionary fire die out in words; when they learned from the mouths of the first Socialists to return from Russia that the acquisition of power by the proletariat did not ensure that ease and comfort promised by Italian Socialists in their election speeches—then confidence in a Socialist revolution collapsed, and there took its place a fear that a following of the revolutionary flag—which had already encountered criticism even from such Socialists as F. Turati—would only involve a loss of those advances which they had already made. It was at this point that they began to look elsewhere for a solution.

Added to all this, the industrial and commercial middle classes and the landowners, during the reign of these Bolshevik tendencies, were only too obviously seized with panic. They saw themselves dethroned. For many years past they had been tyrannized over by the working classes, violated at the hands of the masses, oppressed by the leaders, daily imposed upon by the Socialists, threatened with effacement by a new fiscal system which made outrageous demands upon their resources, subjected to ever-increasing industrial and economic upheavals in times already difficult enough, so that they had come to regard revolution as the only means of escape from a perpetual state of uncertainty—always providing that this revolution should remain theoretical—for they realized the impotency of the Socialist leaders to turn to account such advances as had been made during the summer of 1919 as a sequel to the protest against the high cost of living; these middle classes found their confidence restored in allying themselves with the *Fasci,* who had come to their rescue, not wholly from disinterested motives.

The *Fasci* went to work with a true soldierly and patriotic spirit. They combated Bolshevism and proclaimed the return of order and discipline. They tried to force upon the masses the principle of nationalism: and they showered opprobrium upon a Government which had been so lax in dealing with the spirit of revolution. It was proclaimed that all those who, for one reason or another, found themselves under what was called "Red tyranny" might seek lawful defence by grouping themselves for combined action under the new flag.

Thus it came about that in all the big towns where *Fasci di combattimento* had been formed by the ex-service men, the sons of the industrial and commercial classes, young men of the middle classes, students, clerks, professional men, flocked to swell their ranks. In the country districts the *Fasci* enrolled the sons of the landowners, administrators, farmers and farm laborers—that is to say, all those who recognized in Socialism the enemy of their rights and privileges.

When this vast army had come to swell their ranks, the *Fasci,* whose strength lay in force of numbers, set about organizing and adapting themselves according to individual need and the particular conditions under which they found themselves called upon to function. Another consideration which influenced the varied aspects of the movement was the variety of standpoints, social, political and industrial, which were met with in the various parts of Italy. Even to-day, for example—and this explains the small hold Fascism has gained in the South—one must bear in mind the very special conditions which prevail there; and this does not apply to Fascism alone, but to all previous movements, including Socialism.

As a rule political movements have had their home in the North, where a political education is more widespread, and where the class which most feels the need of and advantages to be gained from organization—that is to say, the industrial workers—is to be found; for there the middle classes are better educated, more industrialized and therefore more disciplined, because they have to consider the two sides of the question where the interests of both employer and employee are concerned.

For this reason the Fascism found in Milan tends towards idealism, patriotism and equilibrium. Having sought out the working classes, organized them into groups according to whether they were Socialist or Syndicalist, they endeavour to communicate with them in the only language with which they are familiar. Moreover, the program of the *Fasci di combattimento,* drawn up by the constituent Assembly of the 23rd March 1919, is of a distinctly revolutionary nature, outlining reforms as clearly Syndicalist as the creation of industrially representative parliaments, the eight-hour day, even going the length of workers' unions, and the handing over of the factories to the workers. The attitude of Mussolini and of the *Fasci* in connection with a revolutionary rising in Dalmino in the province of Bergamo, near Milan, was very characteristic of the trend of opinion.

A dispute took place between the employers and employees of an important engineering works; and the workers, in May 1919, went out on strike. But before throwing down their tools, they shut themselves up in the factory and installed themselves there to sleep and feed, hoisting the tricolor flag. In a word, they took possession of it, refusing to come out before a satisfactory agreement had been arrived at.

This was the first occupation which had been known to take place in Italy, and the *Popolo d'Italia* encouraged and upheld the step in view of the fact that they had hoisted the tricolour rather than the red flag. Mussolini betook himself to Dalmino, approving and supporting the move of the workers.

Agricultural Dispute in Bologna

It was not, however, in the purely industrial centres alone that Fascism found the surest impulse to its ultimate development and its surest foundation.

Amongst the industrial classes, although doubt and discontent had already begun to spread regarding the Socialist leaders, an anti-Socialist movement such as Fascism could not hope to make its way without encountering grave obstacles in its path, for the masses after all had been ruled and educated through thirty years of Socialism, and besides, there was as yet no alteration in the economic system calculated to make them forget the advantages assured them by the Socialists.

It was in one particular centre, the agricultural centre, and even there in a very reactionary sense, that Fascism secured its victory. From that point it sent out feelers, and eventually secured a complete victory which included the agricultural districts of the Po valley, and, greatest conquest of all, those of Bologna, Ferrara and Polesina.

It may be said that there, more than elsewhere, the action of the Socialists justified the reaction to Fascism; that there, more than elsewhere, the exasperated middle classes were prepared to take any steps to regain their rights which the masses had so foolishly and so outrageously abused. It was in those regions especially that Fascism seemed to promise the solution of the greatest evils, so that it assumed a particularly impressive social and economic aspect.

In order fully to appreciate the character of the political movements and disturbances in the lower valley of the Po, one must bear in mind the exact geographical position of this country. One may fairly say that there cannot be found elsewhere in Europe an agricultural region where land-Socialism is so prominent a factor. It is a well-known fact that workers on the land, as a whole, seldom lend themselves to political demonstrations of a Socialistic nature, but that the economic nature of his work on the land, the age-old tradition which binds the peasant to the fields he tends, and the conditions unlike those of any other class under which he works have made him a Conservative, a traditionalist, bound by his customs and prejudices, hard to break to Socialist and Syndicalist ideas.

But the agricultural district of the lower valley of the Po has arrived at its present state of agitation as a result of a long and bitter industrial revolution. The soil of these regions was not originally productive; it was rather a sterile land consisting of stagnant waters and desolate plains where a deadly malaria raged. However, through a long process of fertilization extending over several centuries and not yet ended, and thanks to the work of man, aided in recent years by the most up-to-date mechanical and industrial processes, they have come to be amongst the most productive in Italy, and amongst the best tended in all Europe. Every inch of land had to be won from a hostile Nature, by means of canals, irrigation, the building of roads and bridges, and great labour to render the soil fertile. Desolate marshes gave place to rich pasture-lands and rice-fields; then followed the sowing of corn and planting of trees, while houses went up to house the laborers, and stables for the cattle they brought with them. Finally, great industries were founded, chief amongst which were the hemp and sugar-beet industries, which gave returns of the most encouraging nature and hastened development by the erection of factories to compete with the sugar, cheese and textile industries.

The labor demanded for this immense work of cultivation could not be met by an agricultural population in a continual state of fluctuation, as in the case of other regions. It was supplied from the surplus proletariat of neighboring districts, attracted by an exceptional offer of work in the transformation of vast tracts of unproductive lands into fertile fields. All aspects of the industrial and proletarian masses in the domain of agriculture were represented here, including not only the peasants traditionally attached to the land, but a whole population of men who had arrived on the spot for the sole purpose of working this land.

The economic conditions which ruled the work of these men were the same as ruled industry, and had little in common with those which governed agriculture. Alongside the peasant—in the accepted sense of the word—there was the hired man, or *bracciante,* who lived, for the most part, not on the products of the lands he tilled so much as on the weekly salary he drew from an horary which was the same for all, for they worked in gangs as in a factory. Thus the peasant's work lost its patriarchal character when it became a matter of being bound to the land of which he was no longer the master. It took on instead the character of a job of work to be relegated to specific hours, with the only difference that it was carried out in the open air instead of indoors, as is the case with mechanical enterprise.

The conditions of these people were industrial also in the matter of the vicissitudes they suffered in the demand for labor, just as in industries, and quite apart from the annual fluctuations generally reckoned upon in the economic phases of agriculture. It followed therefore that these workers, subject to vicissitudes which did not come within the terms of their contracts, which had all the features of a contract in a manufacturing industry, were compelled to organize themselves in the same way as ordinary workers, for the protection and safeguarding of their own interests; and as the dispensation of labor was concentrated in the hands of a small number of capitalists, as a result of property having changed hands so that by a smaller division of ownership expenses might be reduced, the workers' associations grouped themselves together under a kind of union, which roughly corresponds with the trade union system. There was a capital trust and a workers' trust. The unions were purely economic and had no preconceived political views.

The demand for this trade union for the workers had also another cause. The fact that labor was available in excess of demand was not caused so much by over-population as by the heavy fluctuations in the demand. To cope with the alternate abundance and scarcity of work, and to furnish a safety-valve in the labor market where the demand might be excessive to-day and insufficient to-morrow, a solution might have been sought in emigration, but this measure was prohibited by Socialist propaganda; hence the necessity for a registration office for the purpose of taking a census of labor and distributing it in the various districts where there was a demand, and of establishing a method by which each man in his turn might be given an opportunity of earning.

As was to be expected, most of the hired men, finding themselves in a position to monopolize labor, set to work to exploit this scheme by not only seeking but forcing employment. Having once obviated the danger of competition, having made it compulsory for all new-comers to join the union, the union demanded from the capitalists the fixing of a minimum wage, but not a fixed wage, thus the tendency was always towards an increase; at the same time, the union aimed at bettering the conditions of labor by a reduction of working hours.

The logical reaction against this economic pressure was very naturally a tendency on the part of capital to reduce as far as possible the employment of labor, substituting machinery and other modern labor-saving devices for cultivation. And while the cultivation of the land continued to improve, and it was found that the increased output recompensed the higher cost of production, unemployment spread amongst the workers.

It was at this point that a hitherto purely economic matter imperceptibly took on a political aspect, for the unemployment, the discontent of the masses, and the bar to emigration gave rise to social disorders which the Government could not ignore. So the Government, in order to stifle these agitations, began to grant subsidies for public works, purely as a measure of employing labor, and regardless of whether there was any demand for these works. There arose from this action a practice, very soon to be exploited by representatives of this district and others, to seek State subsidies for public works in cases where it served their own or the ends of the workers' unions. And here it must be added that the demands for State grants for public works—canals, roads, etc., in fact, works touching the improvement of the soil—were actuated by the great capitalist landowners, who in this way became the beneficiaries of the State grants, so that here, as in other branches of production upon a large scale, capital and labor found themselves in agreement in the matter of appealing for State aid in the accomplishment of personal interests.

The objects of the Socialist leaders of the workers' union, which was gradually becoming enriched and supported by minor organizations (cooperative production, consumption and land management, housing, workers' councils), were simple and straightforward: they aimed at the absolute control of labor by the unions, including its regulation and distribution. To this end it was essential that they should exercise an iron discipline, disclaiming compromise as much in the matter of the work as of the workers.

The varying psychology of the population, their sudden and swift evolution, demanded that this discipline imposed by the unions should be of an almost feudal, even mediæval character, and it expressed itself under the form of a very harsh boycott. In those little villages in a country where political enthusiasm is easily roused, the boycott assumed the proportions of cruel tyranny to a primitive people. The workingman who did not bend to the will of the Socialist leaders and join a local league could not live, not only as a citizen but even as a human being. He was immediately cut off and abandoned by both friends and relations, who feared a like isolation if they upheld him. He was insulted, hissed, mocked, threatened and scorned when he put in an appearance. And besides the torment of this moral isolation, all manner of other obstacles and difficulties were put in the way of the satisfaction of his simplest daily needs, for shopkeepers were forbidden by the league to supply him with bread, meat, wine or other food. They even went so far as to deny milk to sick children, or burial to the dead, if they were connected with the family of the boycotted man, who was, in fact, treated worse than a leper, worse than one stricken with the plague. He could only appeal to his conscience, which had nothing with which to reproach him but with refusing to submit to tiresome interference in the simplest and most fundamental rights of civilized existence to which he was entitled: the authorities, the police and magistrates, who could easily have proved him in the right, were powerless against the moral and material expulsion the unfortunate man had brought upon himself. He had no choice but to submit, to give way before his opponents, confess his guilt and enter the league.

So it was in the agricultural districts that the Socialist spirit grew, that the power and discipline of the workers' unions continued to be the ruling force, that the union, master of all labor, arbitrary tyrannizer over league members and the entire economic system of the district, was allowed to persist. The Socialist leaders adopted that attitude and assumed the powers of dictators—but poor dictators, even though they managed to bring to their feet simple citizens, capitalists, the working classes, even the authorities—little dictators who lacked neither the stupid pretensions which only rendered them ridiculous, nor the tragic element of a power based upon continual uncertainty and doubt, defiance and hatred, and which spurred them on their erratic course which hovered between unwarranted high-handedness and the most pacific concessions.

But at last the accumulated forces of hate, vengeance, suffering and humiliation broke loose. They plotted together and combined, and then they acted. All the outraged interests, both moral and material, which had fermented for so long beneath the surface, were doomed to burst forth in a reaction whose violence was measured by the long period of its compression. It burst forth and found in the Fascist movement a channel, a guide and a flag.

The Palazzo d'Accursio Massacre

As has already been observed, at the time of the political elections of the 16th November 1919, the activities of the *Fasci di combattimento* were feeble and their effect negligible. The *Fasci* in fact confined themselves to a testimony of their good faith, and a promise of action within the terms of the program drawn up at the council of the 23rd March 1919. On the whole, the elections ran a smooth course; there was only one fatality in all Italy. The Fascists attributed this order to the fact that the Socialist domination was so strong that it did not permit of any action whatsoever from the other parties. This fact supports the theory that Fascism was then only in its infancy as an active body.

The elections of 1919 gave an unexpected success to the revolutionary parties, who gained 156 out of the 535 seats in the Chamber of Deputies.

The first symptom of the grave menace which the Socialists saw in this victory occurred at the opening of the session on the 1st December 1919. The 156 revolutionary deputies were to appear wearing a red button-hole. At the very moment when the King entered the Camera to make the royal speech, they left the building in silence.

From that date, throughout the kingdom, revolutionary activities continued to increase.

Upon Giolitti's advent to power, following Nitti on the 16th June 1920, there was a notable decrease in these activities, due in part to the fact that Giolitti dealt with a firmer hand than had Nitti with the leaders of the Socialist organizations, whose activities were henceforth deprived of any State aid whatsoever.

But for all that, up until the month of September 1920 Italy certainly gave the impression of being the prey of the acutest disorganization and the most outrageous revolutionary follies, especially in the matter of propaganda speeches. The mania for strikes in every branch of industry, not excepting the public services, reached the limit of its tragicomedy. The slightest excuse served as a pretext for the holding up of production in the most essential as well as in the luxury industries. The offending of a single workman's susceptibilities was sufficient excuse for paralyzing the life of whole cities; and since public authority, owing to disorganization in those branches which were most vital to the life of the public, no longer possessed their old powers, the railwaymen refused to convey the police to the scene of the disorder—all this occurred without the sanction of the employers.

Individuals still continued to live in dread of violence. Anything which savored of the middle classes was still an object of aggression. Motorcars could not travel about the country or pass through the outskirts of certain towns without running the risk of being made the target of stones thrown by peasants and workmen. Everything which savored of authorized administration, patriotism or nationalism was held up to ridicule and abuse, and individuals were likewise liable, so that the celebrations for the first anniversary of the victory had perforce to be suspended. Officers here and there, wearing medals, incurred abuse; and the very name of ex-service man—or, even worse, volunteer—laid a man open to scorn and humiliation. On the other hand, in the country a political movement was on foot for the rehabilitation of deserters from the war, a movement which resulted in the famous amnesty granted by Nitti's Government.

The economic disorders did not, however, eclipse the progressive activities of the Socialists. The ease with which the political leaders obtained the moral support and favor of the authorities reached a point when the Government granted them all the concessions of an economic nature to which they laid claim, and these concessions, added to the victory won from capitalism in the question of salaries and working hours, drove the workers to the ranks of the Socialists. The Labor Confederation reached its height in the first half of 1920, with 1,200,000 adherents, when it placed itself at the service of the Socialist party.

In the country the outrages became ever more numerous. There was a series of strikes resembling the industrial strikes, which involved the burning down of houses, the killing of cattle, and the abandoning of harvests and beasts alike to their fate. New contracts comprising ridiculous demands were drawn up and imposed upon employers. Besides an absurd new system regarding the division of profits, whereby, in métayers' contracts, the laborer drew a share substantially larger than that of the proprietor, it is enough to recall the eight-hour day which was made applicable to the land worker, and which was a feature of the wholesale transposal of the industrial system to agriculture regardless of the vast differences in the two modes of production.

In these days the spread of the Russian myth reached the fullest extent of its diffusion. Communist Russia became the ideal of the majority of the working population. The outward signs of this myth appealed to their sentiment. Beside the red flag, symbol of the revolutionary creed, they placed portraits of Lenin and the emblem of the Soviet Government. These outward signs were so broadcast over the country that one would have thought that Italy already lived in an atmosphere of revolution à la Russia, and that it was now only a matter of hours before she should pass from the old to the new régime.

This revolutionary movement reached its zenith in the months of August and September 1920, with the occupation of the factories by the workers, and it maintained its reign until the Socialists seized a considerable number of municipal and provincial offices at the end of the year.

It may be said to have commenced its decline with the incidents connected with the Palazzo d'Accursio, just as a fever declines after the crisis. On the 21st December 1920, at Bologna, while the new Socialist municipal Council was in session, a demonstration took place in the square; bombs, prepared for the purpose in the business houses of the town, were hurled from the windows of the town hall, while, in the council chamber, members of the Socialist majority and others who had made their way in amongst them, fired revolver shots across the benches against the minority. The lawyer, Giordani, who had been wounded in the war and who represented the ex-service men, was killed.

The crime aroused very strong feeling throughout Italy and was the cause of many citizens joining the ranks of the Fascists, to whom they looked to save the nation and re-establish order in view of the paralysis which seemed to have seized the Government. The Palazzo d'Accursio murder seemed to have excited that sentimental spirit calculated to consolidate the Fascist movement. In the following year, in November 1921, the *Fascist movement* had become the *Fascist party*. That year of 1921 had been spent in enlarging, shaping, selecting and conquering public opinion. In the elections of the 15th May 1921 it worked officially through the ranks of Giolitti's party, obtaining only thirty-four seats—of which only one was gained on exclusively Fascist votes—but the "preferential" votes showed that the sympathies of the middle classes were on the side of the Fascist element—young, enthusiastic, ready to fight and already fighting in the streets, in the Press, in Parliament; the only party to guarantee and to safeguard order.

Contemporarily the Socialist party was falling to pieces; at Livorno, in January 1921, the Communists broke away, and between the right and left wings of those who remained, controversy became more heated and more personal. When the groups of the proletariat broke up, the middle classes ranged themselves behind the Fascists, and from that point the issue was no longer in doubt.

What Is Fascism?

Fascism, then, would seem to be the *revolt of the middle classes,* inspired by Nationalist and Conservative ideals, to range themselves against the pretensions of the proletarian classes and the ill-distributed fortunes of the capitalists; the revolt of a class disillusioned by a peace which had failed to realize in internal politics those rewards in which they had been led to put their trust, and which in foreign politics had failed to obtain for them what they considered their rights and dues.

If we read the speeches made by the deputies appointed from the Fascist ranks in 1924 or those made by the Fascist majority in the municipal councils, it will be seen that the Fascist Zerboglio and the Socialist Zibordi had arrived at a very clear view of how things stood. Zerboglio says:

"I have noticed for myself among the Fascists a majority of students from the universities and from the central schools, ex-officers and junior officers, also old soldiers, professional men, small business men and shopkeepers, farmers and some laborers; many idealists and young hotheads inspired by burning patriotism; some out purely for excitement, and for these Fascism is a sport; some ne'er-do-wells; some men of the middle classes out to defend their personal interests, not at the expense of the general public but in their service, so far as their personal danger may be judged to constitute more or less directly that of the general public."

Zibordi says: "To Fascism belong the bellicose professions, for the most part soldiers or ex-soldiers, ruffians enrolled without distinction from the slum areas; but there is also a strong force of young men inspired by fanaticism, ideals, romanticism and a love of sport. Connected with Fascism there are also groups of citizens, struggling intellectuals and well-to-do intellectuals, the former urged by economic instinct and various other sentiments, the latter by a hatred of society and an æsthetic disdain of the extremist and tyrannizing proletariat."[2]

The Religion of the Country

In Fascism, the religion of the country—which, as Pareto puts it, is the true religion of to-day—found its strongest stimulus to expression. Such a popular movement, with such impressive ceremonial, can only be traced to a form of religious expression. The strictest rites were observed round the tombs of Fascists who had met their end; and the trees which were planted to their memory were held in almost pagan awe. The tomb of the Unknown Soldier was an object of never-ending pilgrimages; and there was a distinctly religious savor about the references to the dead which were a feature of Fascist ceremonies.

Fascism embodies the most exalted conception of the patriotic spirit, and that explains the presence in the Fascist ranks, as in the followers of any creed, of hypocrites and exploiters, whose presence, as all know who have made a study of social movements, is in itself a proof of the authenticity and sincerity of the religious impulse behind it. The very same thing applies amongst the bands of wounded and decorated soldiers, where there are frauds who have decked themselves out in false medals so as to attract public sympathy and esteem.

No Democracy in Italy

With the "March on Rome" Fascism conquered a democracy which hitherto had no true existence in Italy. Italy never had what constitutes the essence and glory of the Anglo-Saxon democracies. *The primary schools were in many districts some old pit or quarry, and higher education was*

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[2] On the formation of the Fascist groups and their psychology, see A. Zerboglio and D. Grandi, *Fascismo,* Bologna, 1922; M. Missiroli, *Il fascismo e la crisi italiana,* Bológna, 1921; A. Cappa, *Due rivoluzioni mancate,* Foligno, 1923; L. Salvatorelli, *Nazionalfascismo,* Turin, 1923; M. Vinciguerra, *Il fascismo visto da un solitario,* Turin, 1923; Un Deputato al Parlamento, *Il fascismo,* Milan, 1922.

only open to those of ample means. There was no open competition for men of talent, except in theory, for influence and favoritism had superseded the usual system of competition in examinations. Freedom from taxation, a tradition dating back to Cavour, had been abandoned in 1880; and the uneducated masses had never had any word in the conduct of the country before a reform of 1913 introduced universal suffrage. And after the war they could not be expected to put this new implement to very good use. The acquisition of the Constitutional Statute in 1847 had not earned wide popularity, for Italians traditionally owed little to parliamentary régime, their political organ having been the Communes, which took the place of party or class government, and feudal overlordship, which kept the power in the hands of certain powerful families. The formation of the Kingdom of Italy and the acquisition of freedom —in the Press, in religion, and in the holding of meetings—had not cost them very dearly; rather had they been won for them by the foreigner, or by the reflection of similar movements in France, than by their own efforts. And as for the movement for the unification of Italy, the agricultural classes had had no hand therein, or if they had, their part had been indifferent or sometimes even hostile.

Recent generations had, moreover, extinguished the feeble flame of democracy which did exist in rude form in Italy. The criticism which was brought to bear upon this supposed democracy which yet had created no schools, produced no great book, nor any man worthy of his times, very soon stripped it of all it had been supposed to stand for. And the amazing critical and philosophical renaissance which started with Benedetto Croce in the year 1900 soon brought down the last fence and imbued the age with an anti-democratic spirit. The most interesting political developments in recent times had been nationalism on the one hand and syndicalism on the other, both anti-democratic. Italians began to believe in individuals, and ceased to regard minorities as a negligible body; they began to look ahead, rather in the spirit of Machiavelli, seeing in a nation actual possibilities to which Italy, far from renouncing, should attain. The war, whose realism, followed by a wretched Peace, had cast all these illusions to the ground, had fallen crushingly upon those who once cherished hopes of a future international and democratic Italy: and the defection of Wilson, once acclaimed as a great prophet only to be considered shortly afterwards as the enemy and betrayer of Italy, had struck the death-blow to democratic ideals.

Very few men retained hopes of a democracy, therefore, in the months when Fascism was gathering in its members and getting under way.

When the Fascists presented themselves before the democratic scaffold of the Italian State, they found there neither sentinel nor watchman.

II. LEADERSHIP

BENITO MUSSOLINI

Mussolini, whether or not he assumes the title, has many of the aspects of an emperor and is the dictator of present-day Italy. He is an admirable illustration of the great leader theory of social development. While the crisis following the World War, with its social disintegration, gave him his chance, few would deny that his personality and his qualities of leadership have vitally affected the entire political and economic structure of Italy. The reader should ask himself: how far is Mussolini the product of social forces which he could not control, and how far has he dominated or modified the social forces which he encountered?

Mussolini was born July 29, 1883, at Dovia in the Commune of Predappio. His father was a blacksmith, a revolutionist, and an atheist, while his mother was a woman of deep religious spirit. There is no question that Mussolini imbibed some of his radical views from his father, who he himself says "had been in prison for his ideas." The father was an ardent believer in the anarchistic and revolutionary doctrines of Michael Bakunin and taught the boy that the political system in Italy must be overthrown by violence. In the biography by M. C. Sarfatti, authorized by Mussolini himself, we find the following account of his early boyhood days:

> "At five he was a very naughty, troublesome little boy ready for every kind of mischief. In that village schoolroom of the inn, presided over by his mother, he was often as not on all fours underneath the benches pinching the bare legs of the other boys and girls. His face frightened them whenever he wanted a thing, so determined he looked, with his immense dark shining eyes beneath the big bulging forehead.
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> "One little girl, the prettiest in the class, stood in peculiar terror of him. He would be on the watch for her in the fields, behind a bush on her way to school, and would spring out upon her suddenly. He would forbid her to cry, and she had to go with him meekly, a bit fascinated, no doubt, as well as dominated."

This account, whether true or not, is interesting because it shows the type of material which Mussolini would like to have us read about him. His ideal for the younger generation is well illustrated in the Ballilla (Boy Fascist Scout) motto: "Better to live an hour like a lion than one hundred years like a sheep."

As a young man he once wrecked a beer hall in Zurich because he was overcharged sixteen cents. At eighteen we find him teaching school. He had some difficulty after an election—some say he smashed a ballot box. At any rate, he left the country and went to Switzerland. There he eked out a precarious living doing odd jobs, meanwhile studying in the Universities of Lausanne and Geneva. At Lausanne he studied at the feet of Wilfred Pareto, the political economist. He felt that "here was a teacher who was outlining the fundamental economic philosophy of the future."

Nietzsche was another who profoundly affected Mussolini; he absorbed his philosophy and accepted it. The writing of George Sorel, the French syndicalist, *Reflections on Violence,* struck a responsive chord in Mussolini and there is little doubt that his belief in direct action partially comes from this source.[3] He also says that Le Bon's *Psychology of the Crowd* interested him intensely. It can thus be seen that, intense Italian nationalist that he is, Mussolini is yet the product of many foreign forces. No great leader in the world to-day can still be isolated from the social impress of alien ideas. In his *Autobiography* Mussolini is also frank to admit that the greatest teacher of all for him was life. He thus admitted that he lived his way into his thinking most of all.

In Switzerland he lived with the workers and helped to organize unions and promote strikes, so that he was expelled from one canton after another, and finally from the country itself. Humorously enough, it was only after he became Prime Minister that Switzerland removed the legal bar to his entry into the country.

In 1908 he took part in the agrarian conflicts and was sentenced to ten days in jail, afterwards being considered by the police a dangerous revolutionary. He then became editor of *Popolo,* a socialistic paper in Austria. Here he became deeply interested in the philosophy of Nietzsche. He wrote in an article that "the Italian frontier does not end at Ala," and was promptly expelled from Austria.

In 1910 he became editor of a paper at Forli, Italy, called *La Lotta di Classe,* in which he energetically championed Socialism. He opposed the military expedition which the Italian Government sent to Tripoli, even urging the people to resist the authorities. For this he was sentenced to five months' imprisonment. At twenty-nine he was made editor of the official organ of the Socialist party, the *Avanti.* Under him the circulation increased from 40,000 to over 100,000. Because he believed in the intervention of Italy in the War, he resigned his editorship and was thrown out of the Socialist party. He immediately founded a paper of his own, *Il Popolo d'Italia,* securing 4000 lire for the purpose from patriotic advertisers. In April, 1915, he was arrested for advocating revolution. Shortly afterwards he was slightly wounded in a duel with an orthodox Socialist, Claudio Treves. Mussolini in his autobiography tells of two other duels, one of which was over "some parliamentary squabble."

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[3] G. Binzer-Dresden, *Die Führerauslese im Faschismus.* Langensalza, Germany.

When war was declared Mussolini served as a private and was wounded in 1917. After the war he continued to call himself a revolutionist, although he ceased to call himself a socialist. On March 23, 1919, Mussolini founded his first "Fascio die Combattimento," or fighting groups. Their program included demands for a republic, universal suffrage, international disarmament, abolition of compulsory military service, the dissolution of the banks and the stock exchange, confiscation of unproductive capital, and the transference of industry to syndicates of technicians and workers.

In the elections of 1919 Mussolini stood as a candidate from Milan but secured only a few votes, and the socialists described him as "a corpse to be buried in a ditch." Shortly afterwards he was arrested by Premier Nitti for "armed plotting against the security of the state," because he had supported the military adventures of d'Annunzio. Nitti soon released him, due to the pressure of public opinion, so the Fascists say.

In 1920, when the workers seized the factories, Mussolini approved of the action; but he was now strongly opposed to Socialism and Bolshevism and was soon intent on winning support from conservatives. He built up a strongly disciplined party of Fascists, ruled from the top. In the 1921 elections Mussolini and thirty-seven other Fascists were elected.

By 1922 Mussolini believed that he could organize a Fascist government. He broke the strike of August 1, 1922, and came out strongly for property and the conservative forces. In a speech he openly championed the monarchy and so secured the backing of the army. He then prepared for the march on Rome. The King was afraid to oppose him because so many military leaders were on his side. Consequently he was summoned to head the government. His cabinet was formed in seven hours.

He himself assumed the portfolios of Foreign Affairs, Secretary of the Interior, and later those of the War, Marine, and Air Ministries. In June, 1924, Matteotti, a sincere Socialist member of Parliament, was murdered by prominent Fascists. At the trial most of them stated that they had done the deed on the direct orders of Mussolini. We know that Mussolini had been greatly angered at the attacks which Matteotti had made against him. On June 6th, in a debate in the parliamentary Chamber, Mussolini stated that they ought to follow the Russian example, which would mean that the opposition "would have got a charge of lead in their backs."

After the Matteotti affair had entirely blown over, Mussolini said in the Chamber on January 3, 1925: "Before this Assembly, and before the people of Italy, I declare that I alone assume the moral, political, and historical responsibility for all that has occurred." In January, 1926, he wrote: "The abduction of Matteotti and its consequences belong morally, politically, and historically to Fascism."

There have been a number of plots to kill Mussolini but in only one—that of a demented English woman, Violet Gibson, on April 7, 1926—was he wounded, and then only slightly.

Mussolini is not an outstanding orator, but he has great force, and his sentences and style are like a series of explosions of a rapid fire gun.

There is little question that Mussolini will go down in history as one of the most remarkable men of our generation. No man could have started penniless and won for himself the dictatorship of a great nation without having achieved a secure place in the records of our age. All will have to recognize the extraordinary magnetism of the man and his great ability to organize and control. No man could be admired by so many without having good qualities.

Apparently he has been definitely anti-religious. The Pope has already recognized this and Mussolini has many times admitted it. In the introduction to a biography of himself Mussolini says: "The people are like little children. They ask but they despise him who yields to them and spoils them. If the Eternal Father were to say to me, 'I am your friend,' I would put up my fists to him. . . . I want to make a mark on my era with my will, like a lion with its claw." Only a man with a grossly exaggerated superiority complex could make a statement of this kind, throwing down the gauntlet to God himself. Mussolini admits that his favorite characters in history are Cæsar and Napoleon; his favorite philosophers Machiavelli and Nietzsche. In some respects Mussolini has been rather puritanical. At least he says: "I do not drink, I do not smoke, and I am not interested in cards or games. I pity those who lose time, money, and sometimes all of life itself, in the frenzy of games. As for the love of the table, especially in these last years, my meals are as frugal as those of a pauper. In every hour of my life, it is the spiritual element which leads me on. Money has no lure for me."

Mussolini has made so many contradictory statements that almost anything can be proved against him by quoting from his speeches; but friend and foe will admit that he is not a partizan advocate of liberty and democracy. Note his words:

> "Fascism, that was not afraid of being called reactionary while many of today's liberals lay prone before the triumphant beast, has no hesitation today in calling itself illiberal and anti-liberal. Fascism will not fall victim to this

kind of vulgar play. Let it be known, therefore, once and for all, that Fascism knows no idols and worships no fetishes; it has already passed over and if necessary will turn once more and quietly pass over the more or less decayed corpse of the Goddess Liberty."

(Mussolini, *"Forza e Consenso,"* in *Gerarchia,* p. 803, March 1923.)

In 1910 Mussolini said:

"I believe that the parliamentary system, a fallacious and faltering political institution, is destined inevitably to perish. . . . Violence today has become the best condition of real health for a people. . . . For to the present esthetics of filthy lucre we oppose—and let it come, let it come!—an esthetic of violence and blood."

(Quoted by Schneider, *Making the Fascist State,* pp. 264-265.)

In his *Autobiography* Mussolini tells of his first speech to the Chamber of Deputies after assuming power. The only part he quotes follows:

"I could have made of this dull and gray hall a bivouac for corpses. I could have nailed up the doors of parliament and have established an exclusively Fascist government. I could have done those things, but—at least for a time—I did not do them."

Why did Mussolini not do these things for a time? Because he did not have to. It was better, so he thought, to do them without slaughter if he could. Eventually he abandoned universal suffrage, and proudly declared: "To-day we solemnly bury that lie,—democratic universal suffrage." (*Italian Historical Society, Pamphlet No. 2,* p. 8.)

In 1925 Mussolini said:

"There are certain gentlemen who define themselves as officiating priests of a mysterious divinity called public opinion. We do not care a damn for this public opinion. Fortunately we are still an army."

(*Stampa,* June 23, 1925.)

So completely has Mussolini abandoned the democratic ideal that he does not believe in universal education for all and no longer provides state education for every one. He says of the system: "This throws on the scrap heap the democratic concept which considered a state school as an institution for every one—a basket into which treasure and waste are piled together."

The historian will almost be compelled to recognize that Mussolini has based his life and his cause on a theory of violence. Listen to him again:

(September, 1920) "Struggle is the origin of all things because life is full of contrasts. . . . Today it may be the struggle of economic purposeful war, but the day in which there is no more struggle will be the day of melancholy, the end."

> (April, 1921) "We do not make violence a school, a system, or still worse, an esthetic. We are violent whenever it is necessary, but I add immediately that it is necessary to conserve in the necessary violence of Fascism a line, a character clearly aristocratic, or if you prefer, clearly surgical. Our punitive expeditions, all that violence which fills the daily papers, should always be of the character of a just rectification and a legitimate reprisal." [This statement could almost be duplicated in the pronouncements of the Ku Klux Klan in America.]
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> (May, 1921) "It was the 'prestige of violence' that gave victory to the Fascist candidates. . . . At the bottom of the present Fascist victory [elections of May, 1921] one encounters a case of 'force that creates right.'"
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> (September, 1922) "Violence is not immoral. Violence is sometimes moral. . . . Furthermore, violence is decisive, because at the end of July and August, in forty-eight hours of systematic violence, we obtained that which we had not obtained in forty-eight years of preaching and propaganda. Therefore, our violence is resolutory of a situation; it is conscientious, highly moral, sacrosanct, and necessary."

Mussolini has also been a very rigid and able dictator. He says he does not hesitate to scrap any individual in the party to prevent secession and that "having created the Party, I have always dominated it."

No doubt the greatest achievement of Mussolini is that he took an Italy torn by dissension and disorder and weakened by selfish politicians, and restored order, rebuilt the financial life of the country so that its credit was good, and created in himself a symbol of nationalistic power and patriotism which the masses could worship. This is no mean achievement and history will always bow in reverence before such a leader, while still recognizing that, as in the case of Napoleon, the damage he has done is also incalculable.

The historian will also record that Mussolini has been highly opportunistic in his life and action. Even the American ambassador, Richard Washburn Child, who says "the Duce is now the greatest figure of this sphere and time," admits Mussolini is one of the world's greatest opportunists. He has changed over from being a rabid socialist to a rabid militarist. He has at times denounced the King, and the Pope, at other times he has strongly supported them. When in Switzerland he wrote a book, *God and Country,* in which he said, in the preface: "God does not exist—Religion in science is an absurdity, in practice an immorality, in men a disease." To-day Mussolini most of the time claims to believe in religion.

His philosophy has been similarly changing according to the exigencies of the hour. This is perhaps one of the chief characteristics in which he differs from Lenin. Lenin was consistent in his major philosophy throughout his life. He never wavered, and he gave himself unsparingly to the cause of the workingman. Even when compelled by force of circumstances to give way or to compromise, Lenin made it clear that it was a temporary retreat. He did this in the case of the peace with Germany and in that of the New Economic Policy.

The greatest leaders of history are not the ones who have changed their principles to fit their personal ambitions. It is doubtful if Mussolini will have the same place in the history of ethical idealism as has Lenin. The sociological student, however, should note that both men are to a large degree products of their environment and of the social forces of their time. If Mussolini had been born in the United States and subjected to the training of Harvard or Yale, it is hard to conceive that he would have turned out to be so very different from other Harvard and Yale graduates. The chances seem good that if he had been born in America, he would have been a captain of finance. The theory that the biologic heredity forces would have compelled him to become a dictator of Italy or some other country, no matter where he had been born, is of doubtful validity. As students of social evolution we must recognize that there is a constant interlocking development between the great leader and his environment. Society exerts a powerful molding influence on the individual, and in some cases the individual may change slightly the contour of the social fabric.

III. THEORY

Fascist theory is particularly elusive because it changes to some extent to fit the action pattern of the moment. Nevertheless one can uncover certain basic presuppositions in both the philosophic and the economic field.

I. THE PHILOSOPHIC BASIS OF FASCISM[4]

In the definition of Fascism, the first point to grasp is the comprehensive, or as Fascists say, the "totalitarian" scope of its doctrine, which concerns itself not only with political organization and political tendency, but with the whole will and thought and feeling of the nation.

There is a second and equally important point. Fascism is not a philosophy. Much less is it a religion. It is not even a political theory which may be stated in a series of formulae. The significance of Fascism is not to be grasped in the special theses which it from time to time assumes. When on occasion it has announced a program, a goal, a concept to be realized in action, Fascism has not hesitated to abandon them when in practice these were found to be inadequate or inconsistent with the principle of Fascism. Fascism has never been willing to compromise its future. Mussolini has boasted that he is a *tempista,* that his real pride is in "good timing." He makes decisions and acts on them at the precise moment when all the conditions and considerations which make them feasible and opportune are properly matured. This is a way of saying that Fascism returns to the most rigorous meaning of Mazzini's "Thought and Action," whereby the two terms are so perfectly coincident that no thought has value which is not already expressed in action. The real "views" of the *Duce* are those which he formulates and executes at one and the same time.

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[4] *Foreign Affairs,* Jan. 1928, "The Philosophic Basis of Fascism," by Giovanni Gentile, p. 299.

Is Fascism therefore "anti-intellectual," as has been so often charged? It is eminently anti-intellectual, eminently Mazzinian, that is, if by intellectualism we mean the divorce of thought from action, of knowledge from life, of brain from heart, of theory from practice. Fascism is hostile to all Utopian systems which are destined never to face the test of reality. It is hostile to all science and all philosophy which remain matters of mere fancy or intelligence. It is not that Fascism denies value to culture, to the higher intellectual pursuits by which thought is invigorated as a source of action. Fascist anti-intellectualism holds in scorn a product peculiarly typical of the educated classes in Italy: the *leterato*—the man who plays with knowledge and with thought without any sense of responsibility for the practical world. It is hostile not so much to culture as to bad culture, the culture which does not educate, which does not make men, but rather creates pedants and esthetes, egotists in a word, men morally and politically indifferent. It has no use, for instance, for the man who is "above the conflict" when his country or its important interests are at stake.

By virtue of its repugnance for "intellectualism," Fascism prefers not to waste time constructing abstract theories about itself. But when we say that it is not a system or a doctrine we must not conclude that it is a blind praxis or a purely instinctive method. If by system or philosophy we mean a living thought, a principle of universal character daily revealing its inner fertility and significance, then Fascism is a perfect system, with a solidly established foundation and with a rigorous logic in its development; and all who feel the truth and the vitality of the principle work day by day for its development, now doing, now undoing, now going forward, now retracing their steps, according as the things they do prove to be in harmony with the principle or to deviate from it.

And we come finally to a third point.

The Fascist system is not a political system, but it has its center of gravity in politics. Fascism came into being to meet serious problems of politics in post-war Italy. And it presents itself as a political method. But in confronting and solving political problems it is carried by its very nature, that is to say by its method, to consider moral, religious, and philosophical questions and to unfold and demonstrate the comprehensive totalitarian character peculiar to it. It is only after we have grasped the political character of the Fascist principle that we are able adequately to appreciate the deeper concept of life which underlies that principle and from which the principle springs. The political doctrine of Fascism is not the whole of Fascism. It is rather its more prominent aspect and in general its most interesting one.

2. ECONOMIC DOCTRINES

(*a*) *The Syndical Doctrine of Fascism*[5]

Before proceeding to examine the fundamental law which revolutionizes all the doctrines that have heretofore been promulgated on the relations between capital and labor, it is well to review the principles on which Fascist syndicalism rests. However, it is necessary to bear in mind that we are dealing with a movement which is constantly developing and perfecting itself through experience, with the result that although its basic postulates are fixed, some of its aspects may be modified in accordance with the exigencies and needs of the times.

The cornerstone on which the syndical edifice of Fascism is erected is the motto: "The mother country must not be ignored, it must be conquered." This formula, aimed at the uplifting of the nation, contains the total force, both collective and individual, arising from the new doctrine.

The ideal of mother country, not however as an unattainable goal, but as a real and active force, constituted by the entire complex organism of the nation, of which each citizen is both a creator and a creature, stands out above all other interests, above all selfish motives.

The logical conclusion from this premise is that the interest of an individual or of a class cannot but identify itself with the people as a whole, that the fate of each is closely connected with the fate of all those who live in the same land, who have the same blood running through their veins, and who are governed by the same laws. Whenever a person opposes his own individual interest to that of the nation, he is exhibiting a narrow, selfish, immediate, and material attitude—an attitude contrary to the principles of Fascism, which wishes to develop in the people the recognition of spiritual values and civic responsibility.

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[5] Reprinted from A. Pennachio, *The Corporative State,* New York: Italian Historical Society Publications, 1927, pp. 30-32.

If we admit the mediate, but not always immediate relationship, between the individual interest and that of the group, it follows that the efforts of the individual and of the classes must be in harmony with the interest of the nation, if there is to be progressive national development.

Such an ideal is not possible without a just equilibrium of the various forces, without a just recognition of the needs and rights of each, without, in short, the collaboration of the classes. Contrary to the socialist and destructive theories, Fascism proves that the interests of the various social classes do not conflict with each other but rather supplement each other, since they regard each other as mutually indispensable elements working for the progress of the entire nation, a progress which can only take place by increasing the productive capacity, that is, the wealth of the nation.

The economic welfare of each individual class is bound up with the increase and perfection of production. In the light of the bitter experience of the past, both in and out of Italy (the Russian Revolution, and, in Italy, the occupation of the factories), Fascism denies that manual workers can take the place of the capitalist, the entrepreneur, and the expert, and fulfil the various functions of these. Therefore it upholds the sound conception of division of labor. Each of the classes mentioned above has its own task which is clearly defined in the productive process, and which will be improved and strengthened by the harmonious collaboration of each. Fascism denies the practicability of the theory of the collectivists, which advocates the fusion of similar elements, but, on the other hand, it wishes to bring about a sounder collectivism by the union of diverse elements, performing different tasks but aimed toward one and the same end. In substance, Fascism conceives of the nation as an entity, as a huge machine of which every part has its own individual function, but is closely related to the others.

It becomes clear, therefore, that none of the different social classes must be favored at the expense of the others; the benefit derived from an ever increasing production must be justly divided among all the factors of production, in proportion to the contribution and risk of each, so that it may be transformed into a new impulse for obtaining an ultimate profit.

Proceeding to the realization of these postulates, the problem of securing the desired class collaboration presents itself. It is also important to provide means for harmonizing the various exigencies when an agreement cannot be preserved or when one cannot be reached by peaceful and normal methods. Fascism has solved the first problem by organizing both the employers and the employees in the same manner and by placing them on a footing of equality. The second problem has been solved by appointing the State to act as judge in all controversies that have not been satisfactorily settled by the contending parties.

By the direct intervention of the State in conflicts between capital and labor, Fascism firmly rejects and annuls the liberal and democratic doctrines that have thus far prevailed, for these doctrines imply indifference and absenteeism on the part of the State. It has, on the other hand, adopted a social régime constructed on absolutely new bases. In addition, by the principle of state intervention, Fascism has, as a logical consequence, also taken steps to regulate juridically the relations between capital and labor.

(*b*) *The Charter of Labor*

This charter is supposed to express in concrete form the fundamental Fascist doctrine of the supremacy of the State. It is the duty of the State to intervene in industrial disputes. The serious economic depression of 1927 made Mussolini determine to place Italian currency on a gold basis. In order to do this he decided to reduce wages from 10 to 20 per cent. The Labor Charter helped to accomplish this without as great hardship and bitterness as would otherwise have occurred.[6] It was promulgated on April 21st, 1927—the day on which the founding of Rome is celebrated.

Since the adoption of the Labor Charter a law for compulsory insurance of workers against tuberculosis has been adopted and also one setting up Labor Exchanges, under the control of the state, over every kind of employment and making registration in these exchanges compulsory.

Text of the Labor Charter

Article 1.—The Italian nation is an organism possessing a purpose, a life, and instruments of action superior to those possessed by the individuals or groups of individuals who compose it. The nation is a moral, political, and economic unity integrally embodied in the Fascist State.

Article 2.—Labor in all its manifestations, whether mental, technical, or manual, is a social duty. It is by virtue of this fact, and by virtue of this fact alone, that labor falls within the purview of the State. When considered from a national point of view, production in its manifold forms constitutes a unity, its many objectives coinciding and being generally definable as the well being of those who produce, and the development of national power.

Article 3.—Organization whether by trades or by syndicates is unrestricted, but only the syndicate legally recognized by the State and subject to State control is empowered:

To legally represent the particular division of employers or employees for which it has been formed;

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[6] Cf. article by Augusto Turati, Secretary General of Fascist Party in Benn, *Survey of Fascism,* 1928.

To protect the interests of these as against the State or as against other trade organizations;

To negotiate collective labor contracts binding upon all those engaged in the branch in question;

To levy assessments and to exercise, in connection with the branch, specified functions of public import.

Article 4.—The collective labor contract gives concrete expression to the common interest of the various elements of production (capital and labor) by reconciling conflicting interests of employees and subordinating these to the higher interests of production at large.

Article 5.—The Labor Court is the organ through which the State acts in settling labor controversies, whether these arise in connection with observances of rules or agreements already made or in connection with new conditions to be fixed for labor.

Article 6.—The trade associations legally recognized guarantee equality before the law to employees alike. They maintain discipline in labor and production and promote measures of efficiency in both. The Corporations constitute the unifying organization of the elements of production (capital and labor) and represent the common interests of them all. By virtue of this joint representation, and since the interests of production are interests of the Nation, the Corporations are recognized by law as organs of the State.

Article 7.—The Corporative State regards private initiative in the field of production as the most useful and efficient instrument for furthering the interests of the Nation. Since private enterprise is a function of import to the nation, its management is responsible to the State for general policies of production. From the fact that the elements of production (labor and capital) are coöperators in a common enterprise, reciprocal rights and duties devolve upon them. The employee, whether laborer, clerk, or skilled workman, is an active partner in the economic enterprise, the management of which belongs to the employer who shoulders the responsibility for it.

Article 8.—Trade associations of employers are under obligation to increase business, to improve quality of output, and to reduce costs in every possible way. The organizations representing practitioners of the liberal professions or of the arts, and the associations of state employees, work together for furthering the interests of science, letters and the arts, for improving the quality of production and for realizing the moral ideals of the corporative organization of the State.

Article 9.—The State intervenes in economic production, only in cases where private initiative is lacking or insufficient or where political interests of the State are involved. Such intervention may take the form of supervision, of promotion, or of direct management.

Article 10.—In labor controversies involving groups, there can be no recourse to the Labor Court until the corporation has exhausted its efforts for adjustment. In controversies involving individuals in connection with applications or interpretations of collective contracts, the trade associations are empowered to offer their mediation for settlements. Jurisdiction in such controversies belongs to the ordinary Labor Courts supplemented by the referees appointed by the trade associations concerned.

Article 11.—The trade associations are required to regulate by collective contracts labor relations between the employers and the employees whom they represent. The collective contract is made between associations of primary grade, under the guidance and with the approval of the central organizations, with the provision that the association of higher grade may make substitutions in cases specified in the constitutions of the associations or by law. All collective labor contracts must, under penalty of voidance, contain specific statements of the rules governing discipline, of trial periods, of the amounts and manner of payment of wages, of schedules of working hours.

Article 12.—The operation of the syndicates, the mediation of the Corporations and the decisions of the Labor Court guarantee correspondence between wages and the normal demands of living, the possibilities of production and the yield from labor. The fixing of wages is withdrawn from any general rule and entrusted to agreements between parties in the collective contracts.

Article 13.—Losses occasioned by business crises and by variations of exchange must be equitably divided between the elements of production (capital and labor). Statistics relating to conditions of production and labor, to variations of exchange, to changes in standards of living, as issued by the various governmental departments, by the Central Bureau of Statistics and by the legally recognized trade associations, and as coordinated and elaborated by the Ministry of Corporations, will constitute the criteria for adjusting the interests of the various branches of trade, and of harmonizing the interests of the various classes, with those of other classes, *vis-à-vis* of each other, and of the higher interests of production in general.

Article 14.—When wages are paid on the basis of piece work and payments are made at intervals greater than two weeks, suitable weekly or bi-weekly accountings must be furnished. Night work not comprised in regular periodical shifts must be paid for by some percentage in addition to the regular daily wage. When wages are based on piece work, piece payments must be so fixed that the faithful worker of average productive ability may have a chance to earn a minimum in excess of the basic wage.

Article 15.—The employee is entitled to a weekly holiday falling on Sundays. Collective contracts will apply this principle so far as it is compatible with existing laws, and with the technical requirements of the enterprise concerned; and within the same limits, they will aim to respect civil and religious solemnities in accord with local traditions. Working hours must be scrupulously and earnestly observed by employees.

Article 16.—After a year of uninterrupted service, the employee in enterprises that function the year round, is entitled to an annual vacation with wages.

Article 17.—In concerns functioning the year round, the employee is entitled, in case of discharge through no fault of his own, to a compensation proportioned to his years of service. Similar compensation is likewise due in case of death.

Article 18.—Transfers of ownership of concerns offering steady work do not affect labor contracts, and the employees of such concerns retain all their rights and claims against the new proprietors. Likewise the illness of an employee, not in excess of a specified duration, does not cancel the labor contract. Call to service in the Army or Navy or in the Fascist Militia (the Volunteer Militia for National Safety) does not constitute valid cause for dismissal.

Article 19.—Infractions of discipline on the part of employees and acts disturbing to the normal functioning of a concern, are punished, according to the seriousness of the offense, by fine, by suspension, or in grave cases, by immediate discharge without compensation. The cases in which the employer may impose the respective penalties of fine, suspension, or discharge without compensation, must be specified.

Article 20.—The employee newly hired is subject to a trial period, during which there is a reciprocal right to cancel the labor contract, the employee in such case being entitled to wages only for the time of actual service.

Article 21.—The collective labor contract extends its benefits and its discipline to home workers as well. Special regulations are to be promulgated by the State to assure proper hygienic conditions for home labor.

Article 22.—The State has exclusive power to determine and control the factors governing employment and unemployment, since these are indices of the general conditions of production and labor.

Article 23.—Employment bureaus are to be managed by the Corporations through commissions having equal representation of employers and employees. Employers are required to practise selection among workers with right of choice among the various registrants, giving preference, however, to such as are members of the Fascist Party and of the Fascist syndicates, and to priority of registration.

Article 24.—The trade associations of workers are required to practise selection among workers with a view to constant improvement in the technical skill and the moral character of personnel.

Article 25.—The corporations must supervise the observance of the laws governing safety, accident prevention, and sanitation by the individuals subject to the central organization of associations.

Article 26.—Insurance is another manifestation of the principle of collaboration. Employers and employees must bear proportionate shares of such burdens. The State, working through the corporations and the trade associations, will strive to coördinate and unify as far as is possible the agencies and the system of insurance.

Article 27.—The Fascist State is working:—

a) for improvements in accident insurance;

b) for improvements and extensions of motherhood insurance;

c) for insurance against professional diseases and tuberculosis as a step toward general insurance against illness in general;

d) for improvements in insurance on involuntary unemployment;

e) for the adoption of special forms of endowment insurance (*dotatizie*) for young workers.

Article 28.—Protection of the interests of employees in legal and administrative problems arising in connection with accident and other forms of social insurance devolves upon the associations which represent them. Collective labor contracts will provide, where technically possible, for the establishment of mutual funds for insurance against illness, such funds to consist of contributions from employers and employees and to be administered by representatives of both classes under the general supervision of the corporations.

Article 29.—The trade associations have the right and the duty to provide relief for the workers they represent whether these be members or non-members. Such functions of relief must be exercised directly by committees of the associations themselves and must not be delegated to other institutions or corporations save for purposes of a general character which transcend the particular interests of the branch of production concerned.

Article 30.—Training and education, especially technical training of the workers they represent, whether these be members or non-members, is one of the principal duties of the trade associations. The associations must lend their support to the national institutes which deal with recreation and free time, and to other enterprises of education.

(*c*) *The Significance of Fascist Syndicalism*[7]

In asserting that the fascist revolution will have a decisive influence on the politics and ideas of the twentieth century, we mean that it truly represents a new reality and that it is a revolution with not merely a national, but also a world significance.

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[7] From the contribution of Edmundo Rossoni to *A Survey of Fascism* (Benn, 1928), p. 148.

The choice, indeed, lies between Rome and Moscow, although democratic countries laugh at the idea. They keep Moscow at a distance, and yet seem unwilling to borrow anything from Rome. They are convinced that democracy, as now practised, is the best means of government yet tried. But, meanwhile, the pressure of destructive forces continues, and it is clear that democracy must end in socialism—that is, in a system more or less akin to that adopted by Moscow. On the other hand, however, there is in many countries a new spirit of political and economic inquiry; and many are now turning their thoughts to Rome, even though they fail to understand the real meaning of Fascism. This want of understanding is shown by the fact that so many purely conservative elements regard Fascism merely as a conservative force, and quite fail to grasp the whole body of ideas and life-giving principles which have grown out of the revolution of October 1922.

It is only quite recently that a few foreign writers and journalists have succeeded in giving a satisfactory explanation of fascist phenomena. The greatest interest has certainly centered on the corporate organization of society, not only as a new and more fruitful system of relations between the industrial classes, but also as a basis for the reorganization of the modern State. It is interesting to note that, although the first investigations of foreigners were limited to the technical structure and legal framework of the syndicates, the spirit and ideas of the corporation are now becoming understood.

In England, for example, not only is trade-unionism changing its objective and turning towards truer and more responsible methods of group action, but, even in the opposite social camp, there are men who are trying to coöperate with this new and saner outlook, and are thus adopting a theoretical and practical standpoint closely approximating to the principles of fascist Syndicalism.

Immediately after the opening meeting of the Trades-Union Congress, discussion did in fact concentrate on the need for industrial peace. In the past, industrial peace has been a somewhat vague conception; but a few have now grasped the idea that peace and coöperation in industry cannot be achieved merely by wishing for it or by making speeches on the subject. Labor unions cannot be expected to give up their class position or the weapon of the strike, unless employers change their traditional attitude of sheer resistance to labor. Captains of industry must undergo a change of heart and even relinquish some of their despotic power, which is incompatible with modern ideas and with the dignity of labor. Whether one likes it or not, the birth of Syndicalism in the world results from the improvement in the conditions of the salaried and wage-earning classes; a new will, strictly controlled and disciplined, is intervening in regulating production and in determining the relations between classes. The aim of fascist Syndicalism is unity and collaboration: it does not oppose, but conforms to the needs of production; it does not deny the conscious aims of labor, but harmonizes them with the aims and with the industrial experience of the managers. This is the true and fundamental difference between fascist Syndicalism and trade-unionism, based as the latter is on class warfare.

3. POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Fascism represents a rather complete revolution against the political ideas which the twentieth century in its first quarter considered sacred: liberty, freedom and equality, democracy, representative government. Late in 1929 even trial by jury was abolished. On the other hand, it vigorously opposes internationalism and has reverted to the intense nationalistic spirit which believes in imperialism for the glory of Italy.

(*a*) *The Political Doctrine of Fascism* [8]

The true antithesis, not to this or that manifestation of the liberal-democratic-socialistic conception of the state but to the concept itself, is to be found in the doctrine of Fascism. For while the disagreement between Liberalism and Democracy, and between Liberalism and Socialism lies in a difference of method, as we have said, the rift between Socialism, Democracy, and Liberalism on one side and Fascism on the other is caused by a difference in concept. As a matter of fact, Fascism never raises the question of methods, using in its political praxis now liberal ways, now democratic means and at times even socialistic devices. This indifference to method often exposes Fascism to the charge of incoherence on the part of superficial observers, who do not see that what counts with us is the end and that therefore even when we employ the same means we act with a radically different spiritual attitude and strive for entirely different results. The Fascist concept then of the nation, of the scope of the state, and of the relations obtaining between society and its individual components, rejects entirely the doctrine which I said proceeded from the theories of natural law developed in the course of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries and which form the basis of the liberal, democratic, and socialistic ideology.

I shall not try here to expound this doctrine but shall limit myself to a brief résumé of its fundamental concepts.

Man—the political animal—according to the definition of Aristotle, lives and must live in society. A human being outside the pale of society is an inconceivable thing—a non-man. Humankind in its entirety lives in social groups that are still, today, very numerous and diverse, varying in importance and organization from the tribes of Central Africa to the great Western Empires. These various societies are fractions of the human species, each one of them endowed with a unified organization. And as there is no unique organization of the human species, there is not "one" but there are "several" human societies. Humanity therefore exists solely as a biological concept not as a social one.

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[8] Reprinted from *The Political Doctrine of Fascism,* by Alfredo Rocco, Minister of Justice in the Government of Italy, pp. 16-23. New York, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1926.

Each society on the other hand exists in the unity of both its biological and its social contents. Socially considered it is a fraction of the human species endowed with unity of organization for the attainment of the peculiar ends of the species.

This definition brings out all the elements of the social phenomenon and not merely those relating to the preservation and perpetuation of the species. For man is not solely matter; and the ends of the human species, far from being the materialistic ones we have in common with other animals, are, rather, and predominantly, the spiritual finalities which are peculiar to man and which every form of society strives to attain as well as its stage of social development allows. Thus the organization of every social group is more or less pervaded by the spiritual influxes of: unity of language, of culture, of religion, of tradition, of customs, and in general of feeling and of volition, which are as essential as the material elements: unity of economic interests, of living conditions, and of territory. The definition given above demonstrates another truth, which has been ignored by the political doctrines that for the last four centuries have been the foundations of political systems, viz., that the social concept has a biological aspect, because social groups are fractions of the human species, each one possessing a peculiar organization, a particular rank in the development of civilization with certain needs and appropriate ends, in short, a life which is really its own. If social groups are then fractions of the human species, they must possess the same fundamental traits of the human species, which means that they must be considered as a succession of generations and not as a collection of individuals.

It is evident therefore that as the human species is not the total of the living human beings of the world, so the various social groups which compose it are not the sum of the several individuals which at a given moment belong to it, but rather the infinite series of the past, present, and future generations constituting it. And as the ends of the human species are not those of the several individuals living at a certain moment, being occasionally in direct opposition to them, so the ends of the various social groups are not necessarily those of the individuals that belong to the groups but may even possibly be in conflict with such ends, as one sees clearly whenever the preservation and the development of the species demand the sacrifice of the individual, to wit, in times of war.

Fascism replaces therefore the old atomistic and mechanical state theory which was at the basis of the liberal and democratic doctrines with an organic and historic concept. When I say organic I do not wish to convey the impression that I consider society as an organism after the manner of the so-called "organic theories of the state"; but rather to indicate that the social groups as fractions of the species receive thereby a life and scope which transcend the scope and life of the individuals identifying themselves with the history and finalities of the uninterrupted series of generations. It is irrelevant in this connection to determine whether social groups, considered as fractions of the species, constitute organisms. The important thing is to ascertain that this organic concept of the state gives to society a continuous life over and beyond the existence of the several individuals.

The relations therefore between state and citizens are completely reversed by the Fascist doctrine. Instead of the liberal-democratic formula, "society for the individual," we have, "individuals for society" with this difference however: that while the liberal doctrines eliminated society, Fascism does not submerge the individual in the social group. It subordinates him, but does not eliminate him; the individual as a part of his generation ever remaining an element of society however transient and insignificant he may be. Moreover the development of individuals in each generation, when coördinated and harmonized, conditions the development and prosperity of the entire social unit.

At this juncture the antithesis between the two theories must appear complete and absolute. Liberalism, Democracy, and Socialism look upon social groups as aggregates of living individuals; for Fascism they are the recapitulating unity of the indefinite series of generations. For Liberalism, society has no purposes other than those of the members living at a given moment. For Fascism, society has historical and immanent ends of preservation, expansion, improvement, quite distinct from those of the individuals which at a given moment compose it; so distinct in fact that they may even be in opposition. Hence the necessity, for which the older doctrines make little allowance, of sacrifice, even up to the total immolation of individuals, in behalf of society; hence the true explanation of war, eternal law of mankind, interpreted by the liberal-democratic doctrines as a degenerate absurdity or as a maddened monstrosity.

For Liberalism, society has no life distinct from the life of the individuals, or as the phrase goes: *solvitur in singularitates.* For Fascism, the life of society overlaps the existence of individuals and projects itself into the succeeding generations through centuries and millennia. Individuals come into being, grow, and die, followed by others, unceasingly; social unity remains always identical to itself. For Liberalism, the individual is the end and society the means; nor is it conceivable that the individual, considered in the dignity of an ultimate finality, be lowered to mere instrumentality. For Fascism, society is the end, individuals the means, and its whole life consists in using individuals as instruments for its social ends. The state therefore guards and protects the welfare and development of individuals not for their exclusive interest, but because of the identity of the needs of individuals with those of society as a whole. We can thus accept and explain institutions and practices, which, like the death penalty, are condemned by Liberalism in the name of the preëminence of individualism.

The fundamental problem of society in the old doctrines is the question of the rights of individuals. It may be the right to freedom as the Liberals would have it; or the right to the government of the commonwealth as the Democrats claim it, or the right to economic justice as the Socialists contend; but in every case it is the right of individuals, or groups of individuals (classes). Fascism on the other hand faces squarely the problem of the right of the state and of the duty of individuals. Individual rights are only recognized in so far as they are implied in the rights of the state. In this preëminence of duty we find the highest ethical value of Fascism. . . .

This, however, does not mean that the problems raised by the other schools are ignored by Fascism. It means simply that it faces them and solves them differently, as, for example, the problem of liberty.

There is a Liberal theory of freedom, and there is a Fascist concept of liberty. For we, too, maintain the necessity of safeguarding the conditions that make for the free development of the individual; we, too, believe that the oppression of individual personality can find no place in the modern state. We do not, however, accept a bill of rights which tends to make the individual superior to the state and to empower him to act in opposition to society. Our concept of liberty is that the individual must be allowed to develop his personality in behalf of the state, for these ephemeral and infinitesimal elements of the complex and permanent life of society determine by their normal growth the development of the state. But this individual growth must be normal. A huge and disproportionate development of the individual of classes, would prove as fatal to society as abnormal growths are to living organisms. Freedom therefore is due to the citizen and to classes on condition that they exercise it in the interest of society as a whole and within the limits set by social exigencies, liberty being, like any other individual right, a concession of the state. What I say concerning civil liberties applies to economic freedom as well. Fascism does not look upon the doctrine of economic liberty as an absolute dogma. It does not refer economic problems to individual needs, to individual interest, to individual solutions. On the contrary it considers the economic development, and especially the production of wealth, as an eminently social concern, wealth being for society an essential element of power and prosperity. But Fascism maintains that in the ordinary run of events economic liberty serves the social purposes best; that it is profitable to entrust to individual initiative the task of economic development both as to production and as to distribution; that in the economic world individual ambition is the most effective means for obtaining the best social results with the least effort. Therefore, on the question also of economic liberty the Fascists differ fundamentally from the Liberals; the latter see in liberty a principle, the Fascists accept it as a method. By the Liberals, freedom is recognized in the interest of the citizens; the Fascists grant it in the interest of society. In other terms, Fascists make of the individual an economic instrument for the advancement of society, an instrument which they use so long as it functions and which they subordinate when no longer serviceable. In this guise Fascism solves the eternal problem of economic freedom and of state interference, considering both as mere methods which may or may not be employed in accordance with the social needs of the moment.

What I have said concerning political and economic Liberalism applies also to Democracy. The latter envisages fundamentally the problem of sovereignty; Fascism does also, but in an entirely different manner. Democracy vests sovereignty in the people, that is to say, in the mass of human beings. Fascism discovers sovereignty to be inherent in society when it is juridically organized as a state. Democracy therefore turns over the government of the state to the multitude of living men that they may use it to further their own interests; Fascism insists that the government be entrusted to men capable of rising above their own private interests and of realizing the aspirations of the social collectivity, considered in its unity and in its relation to the past and future. Fascism therefore not only rejects the dogma of popular sovereignty and substitutes for it that of state sovereignty, but it also proclaims that the great mass of citizens is not a suitable advocate of social interests for the reason that the capacity to ignore individual private interests in favor of the higher demands of society and of history is a very rare gift and the privilege of the chosen few. Natural intelligence and cultural preparation are of great service in such tasks. Still more valuable perhaps is the intuitiveness of rare great minds, their traditionalism and their inherited qualities. This must not, however, be construed to mean that the masses are not to be allowed to exercise any influence on the life of the state. On the contrary, among peoples with a great history and with noble traditions, even the lowest elements of society possess an instinctive discernment of what is necessary for the welfare of the race, which in moments of great historical crises reveals itself to be almost infallible. It is therefore as wise to afford to this instinct the means of declaring itself as it is judicious to entrust the normal control of the commonwealth to a selected élite.

As for Socialism, the Fascist doctrine frankly recognizes that the problem raised by it as to the relations between capital and labor is a very serious one, perhaps the central one of modern life. What Fascism does not countenance is the collectivistic solution proposed by the Socialists. The chief defect of the socialistic method has been clearly demonstrated by the experience of the last few years. It does not take into account human nature, it is therefore outside of reality, in that it will not recognize that the most powerful spring of human activities lies in individual self-interest and that therefore the elimination from the economic field of this interest results in complete paralysis. The suppression of private ownership of capital carries with it the suppression of capital itself, for capital is formed by savings and no one will want to save, but will rather consume all he makes if he knows he cannot keep and hand down to his heirs the results of his labors. The dispersion of capital means the end of production since capital, no matter who owns it, is always an indispensable tool of production. Collective organization of production is followed therefore by the paralysis of production since, by eliminating from the productive mechanism the incentive of individual interest, the product becomes rarer and more costly. Socialism then, as experience has shown, leads to increase in consumption, to the dispersion of capital and therefore to poverty. Of what avail is it, then, to build a social machine which will more justly distribute wealth if this very wealth is destroyed by the construction of this machine? Socialism committed an irreparable error when it made of private property a matter of justice while in truth it is a problem of social utility. The recognition of individual property rights, then, is a part of the Fascist doctrine not because of its individual bearing but because of its social utility.

We must reject, therefore, the socialistic solution but we cannot allow the problem raised by the Socialists to remain unsolved, not only because justice demands a solution but also because the persistence of this problem in liberal and democratic régimes has been a menace to public order and to the authority of the state. Unlimited and unrestrained class self-defense, evinced by strikes and lockouts, by boycotts and sabotage, leads inevitably to anarchy. The Fascist doctrine, enacting justice among the classes in compliance with a fundamental necessity of modern life, does away with class self-defense, which, like individual self-defense in the days of barbarism, is a source of disorder and of civil war.

Having reduced the problem to these terms, only one solution is possible, the realization of justice among the classes by and through the state. Centuries ago the state, as the specific organ of justice, abolished personal self-defense in individual controversies and substituted for it state justice. The time has now come when class self-defense also must be replaced by state justice. To facilitate the change Fascism has created its own syndicalism. The suppression of class self-defense does not mean the suppression of class defense which is an inalienable necessity of modern economic life. Class organization is a fact which cannot be ignored but it must be controlled, disciplined, and subordinated by the state. The syndicate, instead of being, as formerly, an organ of extra-legal defense, must be turned into an organ of legal defense which will become judicial defense as soon as labor conflicts become a matter of judicial settlement. Fascism therefore has transformed the syndicate, that old revolutionary instrument of syndicalistic socialists, into an instrument of legal defense of the classes both within and without the law courts. This solution may encounter obstacles in its development; the obstacles of malevolence, of suspicion of the untried, of erroneous calculation, etc., but it is destined to triumph even though it must advance through progressive stages.

(*b*) *The Duties of Italian Prefects*[9]

"Now that the number of provinces has increased, and the general political situation is absolutely quiet, I desire further to specify the rules which must govern Prefects in the delicate and important office which they hold. I desire again to affirm emphatically that the Prefect is the highest authority of the State in the Provinces. He is the direct representative of the central Executive Power.

"All citizens, and especially those who have the privilege and the honor of serving in the Fascist ranks, owe respect and obedience to the highest representative of the Fascist Régime, and must collaborate with a proper sense of organization (*subordinatamente*) so as to render his task easy. Where necessary, the Prefect must stimulate and harmonize the activities of the Party in the latter's various manifestations. It must, however, be clearly understood that authority cannot be exercised on a fifty-fifty basis (*a mezzadria*). Neither is any shifting of authority or responsibility tolerable. Authority is one and indivisible (*unitaria*). If this were not so, the State would again fall into disorganization and gradual disintegration. One of the fundamental principles of Fascist doctrine would be destroyed, and one of the principal reasons for the success of Fascist action would be negated. The very purpose of that action is to give cohesion, authority, prestige to the State, to make the State that intangible unity which the Fascist State is and must be. The Party, and its various ranks from the highest to the lowest is, once the revolution has been accomplished, nothing but a conscious instrument of the will of the State, and this not so much at the center of Government as in the branches of Government.

"The Prefect must with every diligence defend the Régime against attempts to weaken or undermine it. All parenthetic agnosticism in this matter is harmful. The Prefects must have speedy and intelligent initiative in the struggle against the irreconcilable enemies of the Fascist régime. I say speedy, but I also say intelligent, because it is not useful to elevate harmless and unimportant individuals to a sometimes hoped-for martyrdom.

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[9] A circular letter sent by Benito Mussolini on January 5, 1927, in his capacity as Minister of Internal Affairs, to all Prefects of the Italian Kingdom.

"The new police laws together with the provisions for the defense of the State, allow Prefects to act with the necessary rigor, in the eventuality, which seems every day more remote, of renewed antifascist activities.

"Now that the State has at its disposal every means of prevention and repression, we must see that the 'residues' of revolution entirely disappear, not only in that form which develops under the pressure of petty local ambitions, harmful to the Régime, against which they cause resentment, but also and particularly in the form of illegal acts which ensue on events of a serious character. We must bear in mind that whatever has happened or may happen to me, the time for reprisals, for devastation, for violence, is past. Whatever may happen in general or may happen to me in particular, the Prefects must prevent, with every means available, even simple attempts to stage demonstrations or to suggest violent action against the seats of foreign representatives. The relations among peoples are too delicate and too important for us to allow them to be put in jeopardy by acts of irresponsible enthusiasts or by agitators who are seeking every opportunity to do us irreparable damage.

"It is needless to add that Prefects must always report the truth, the whole truth to the Government and particularly when such truth may seem unpleasant.

"Public order must not be disturbed, for it indicates the calm and profitable development of all national activities.

"The military and police forces serving the State, the growing endorsement of the people, the syndicalistic organization of the masses, have prevented during these five years and will further prevent disorders on any large or dangerous scale.

"In any case, the Fascist Prefect must foresee and exert his vigilance so as to prevent disorder by eliminating its cause. Timely prevention avoids costly and painful repression.

"The Fascist Prefect will not only devote his attention to 'public order' (the enforcement of which devolves especially upon the police), but also to 'moral order'; he will, that is, be an agent of conciliation, of equilibrium, of peace, of justice, so that the establishment of 'moral order' will became the best insurance and guarantor of 'public order'.

"Those who enforce the law upon antisocial elements, often at the risk of their lives, deserve consideration and respect. (R. Carabineers Police Force, Fascist Militia.)

"An authoritative and totalitarian government, such as the Fascist

Government, must use every diligence and act with all conscientiousness in administering public funds.

"It is necessary, therefore, that all matters of financial administration, from the Municipalities down to the Confederations, be the object of constant supervision and vigilant attention. The Prefect must keep in close touch with the Podestas. All those who administer public funds must be known for their integrity.

"Especially in Southern Italy, the Prefect of the Fascist Government must enforce absolute administrative morality, resolutely breaking up remnants of that electoral and 'camoristic' dishonesty which weighed on the old form of government. While exercising his supervision, as dictated by the laws of the Régime, the Fascist Prefect must proceed to the eliminations necessary in the minor offices, and he must report such elements as either are harmful or can be dispensed with.

"The Prefect must see to it that all professional wire pullers, whether fakers or otherwise, all incompetent backbiters, climbers—in short all discordant elements—as well as those whose standard of living is not explained by the salaries they receive, be eliminated from all the offices maintained by the Régime.

"With more success than other countries, Italy has been able to safeguard within her Veterans Association the incomparable moral patrimony of her victory in the war. These organizations bring to the Régime the sincere and disinterested support of millions of Italians. Their members are of those Italians who gave hundreds of thousands of lives for the good cause. These are the men who fought and suffered for forty months and among whom many bear the marks of sacrifice and duty. The Prefects of the Fascist Régime must hold these organizations in reverent consideration, help them in their work and support them by sympathetic coöperation.

"The Fascist Prefect is not the Prefect of liberal democratic days, when his function was primarily that of an electoral agent.

"Elections are now a thing of the past and the Prefect, therefore, changes aspect and style. He must take the initiative in all that can be useful to the Régime and increase its strength and prestige, in social as well as in intellectual spheres.

"The problems which at certain times confront the population, such as housing or high cost of living, must be dealt with by the Prefect. The Prefect must see that the orders given by the Government, for social improvements and public works, be not hindered by local interests. Within the new administrative and corporative organization of the country, the Prefect becomes the head of the whole Province and it is from him that the Province must receive its impetus, its coördination, and its leadership.

"The Prefect must meet the demands and needs of the population even before they are made manifest by the formation of organizations and the passing of resolutions. He must seek out deficiencies, and sufferings that be concealed, so that as far as possible, he may help the moral and political reclamation of the people, and demonstrate that the Fascist State is not a State of greed and selfishness. We must give aid to the deserving without arousing a servile spirit and without using demagogic methods—this especially in the case of the younger generations which are being gradually organized within the ranks of the *Balilli* and *Avanguardisti.* We must remember that these young people represent Italy's greatest hope and promise.

"These are my instructions. I know that you all are faithful representatives of the Fascist State, and that you will, therefore, carry them out with intelligence, diligence and faith."

"The Head of the Government,
Minister of the Interior,
MUSSOLINI."

(*c*) *The New Election Law and the Grand Council*

In 1928 Italy passed a law reforming the Chamber of Deputies. The number was fixed at 400 chosen from a list of about 1,000 prepared by Fascist organizations. Eight hundred nominees are selected by the National Confederations of Syndicates from the following organizations in the numbers indicated:

		No. of Members in Its Genl. Council	*No. of Nominees*
National Confederation of Agriculture	Employers	200	96
	Workers	550	96
National Confederation of Industry	Employers	500	80
	Workers	6,500	80
National Confederation of Commerce	Employers	113	48
	Employees	1,000	48
National Confederation of Maritime and Aerial Enterprises and Transport	Employers	50	40
	Employees	100	40
National Confederation of Land Transport and Inner Navigation	Employers	21	32
	Employees	700	32
National Banking Corporation		50	24
National Confederation of Banking Officials		100	24
National Confederation of Professional Men and Artists		250	160
Total			800

It is interesting to note that 250 associations applied for leave to submit nominations but only 23 were granted the right.[10]

Italy is predominantly agricultural. Three-fourths of the economic activities of the country are rural, but the agriculturalists nominate less than one-fourth of the total. Mussolini has described the system by saying that "Capital and labor shall have equal rights and duties as brothers in the Fascist family." Actually, the Federation of Workers in industry with 1,206,586 members nominate the same number as do the employers with a membership of 60,000. The 450 employers in maritime transport nominate the same number as do 49,000 employees. However, the nominations make small difference because from this list the Grand Council of the Fascist Party need only choose 200 names, although it also nominates and selects an additional 200 of its own choice.

The final list of 400 is then submitted to the voters with this question: "Do you approve the list of deputies designated by the Fascist Grand National Council?" If a majority answers "yes" the list is declared elected. If a majority declares "no" a new election takes place. At the new election all Fascist associations and organizations that have 5,000 members regularly inscribed on the voting lists can nominate candidates. In the new election all who receive a majority are elected and provision is made for some minority representation.

The provision for a second election is largely a matter of form. It is not likely that any such election will ever be held, even if sentiment should be violently opposed to the list as made up. The Fascists take good care that the overwhelming majority of votes are favorable. In fact one of the important Fascist leaders, Signor Forges-Davanzati, has admitted as much in *Tribuna* for February 21, 1928: "There is no interest in the alternative system of elections; these provisions have been introduced as a merely formal hypothesis."

All those over twenty-one have the right to vote and those over eighteen who are married and have children. At the present time Italy does not have universal suffrage. The electoral lists in 1929 totaled 9,460,727. These were divided as follows:

Persons paying union contributions	6,922,807
" contributing to direct taxes	1,653,016
Employees and wage-earners in public institutions	829,198
Members of the Catholic clergy and other sects	55,706

According to the most recent census, the total number of adult male citizens is about eleven millions. Therefore as a result of the abolition of universal suffrage, in the neighborhood of one and one-half million voters were debarred.[11] Even the Fascist Party is now closed to new adult members. In the future its new recruits will be chosen wholly from the young who have been trained in the Fascist faith. In the first voting which took place under this new law the result was 8,576,000 for the list and 136,198 against it. Most neutral observers were surprised at the number which voted against the list in view of the extreme danger in doing so. For anyone who voted against the list was a marked man. All the "aye" ballots were printed in the national colors, red, white, and green. The "no" ballot was printed on plain white paper. After voting the ballot had to be signed by the returning officer. In advance of the election thousands of leaflets were handed out which read as follows:

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[10] *Industrial and Labor Information,* International Labor Office of League of Nations, Vol. XXIX, No. 5, Feb. 4, 1929.

"THE TEN COMMANDMENTS OF THE ITALIAN VOTER

"1. Thou shalt vote for an idea, for a régime, not for men.
"2. Thou shalt believe only in the Duce.
"3. Thou shalt place in the ballot box the paper bearing the colors of our flag.
"4. Victory must be complete, a deliberate conquest, not a facile result.
"5. The tricolor paper is the strongest and the finest.
"6. Thou shalt not heed evil counsellors who are the foes of the country.
"7. Thou shalt not ask advice of friends but shalt heed the imperative 'yea' of thine own conscience.
"8. Thou shalt not discuss nor give ear to murmurs, the weapons of the cowardly.
"9. Not reasoning, but a deed of faith is required of thee.
"10. Go to vote."

A foreign observer who was present at one of the voting booths and who is known to Wickham Steed, editor of the English *Review of Reviews,* reported:

> In a suburban polling station the first ten electors all voted "no" and got away quickly. The Fascist returning officer made a sign to the Black Shirts who were standing at the entrance. The next three electors were so smartly thrashed that there were no more "noes."

It is obvious that to vote "no" in Italy requires real courage.

On December 10, 1929, the Fascist Grand Council was also made legal under the title "Grand Council of the Nation and of the State." The new law divides all proposed bills into constitutional and otherwise. The constitutional are those which deal with the Vatican, international treaties, changes in national or colonial territory, prerogatives as well as attributes of the crown, the Grand Council, Parliament, the Prime Minister and Secretary of State, the authority of the executive power to issue judicial decrees, and syndical and coöperative organizations. All constitutional measures must be introduced in the Grand Council and receive its approval before being considered in Parliament.

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[11] *Industrial and Labour Information,* International Labour Office, March 4, 1929, p. 271.

The Grand Council suggests the names of persons qualified to take the reins of government in case of a vacancy. The President of the Grand Council is by law Head of the Government, Prime Minister and Secretary of State. Article 14 states that the secretaries and other members of the directorate of the Fascist Party can be dismissed by the Head of the Government after consultation with the Grand Council. The Secretary of the Fascist Party has the right, at the suggestion of the Head of the Government, to take part in all meetings of the Council of the Ministers.

There are three categories of members of the Grand Council. (1) Those who belong for an unlimited period. (2) Those whose office carries with it membership such as the heads of the militia and National Fascist Party, the head of the Fascist Institute of Culture, the head of the Balilla (Italian Boy Scouts), et al. (3) Those appointed for a limited period.

Side by side with the Grand Council there is a Senate. It is composed one-fifth of generals, one-fifth of high officials, one-fifth of large landowners, one-fifth of big industrialists and bankers, and one-fifth of university professors and Fascist intellectuals. The Senators are appointed by the Prime Minister—Mussolini—through the King, and since the former can always name more, there is no danger of a hostile vote.

Mussolini also has the right to modify any existing law or to make new laws by royal decree, provided that he secures parliamentary sanction within two years. It can thus be seen that Italy passes entirely away from a democratic political structure. Complete control of government is in the hands of the Fascists. Virtually there is election by the Fascist Grand National Council.

Fascism and the Italian Government are one and the same thing. In Italy at present there is a dictatorship of Mussolini backed by a Fascist party. Anyone can be expelled from the party at the wish of Mussolini and no one can be admitted except on the agreement of the present membership. It is not so different from the self-perpetuating boards which control many of our philanthropic foundations. New members are voted in by the old members. To be sure everyone in Italy has the right to vote, but as long as the nominations and candidates are rigidly controlled by the Fascists, it means little or nothing to have that right.

Mussolini has organized his government on a somewhat similar basis to a business corporation in which one man controls a majority of the voting stock. Others may have the vote but it is largely perfunctory and ineffective. In reality Mussolini has an absolute dictatorship—a direct antithesis of democracy.

(*d*) *The Fascist Corporative State*[12]

Both in the language of literature and in current speech, the word "corporation" possessed, until recently, a meaning clear and precise—at least in Italy. It was an equivalent for the English word "guild," and signified the organization of arts and crafts on which the power of democratic communes was based in the Middle Ages. By way of indicating the degree of political power which, in that distant era, Italian guilds had acquired, Italian municipalities were said to have been organized in a "corporative" form.

Fascism has dug out these old names, but has professed to give them a new meaning. It has used them to baptize, and to present to the international public, its own economico-political contrivances. Therefore it is important to define at the outset what these Fascist institutions really mean, and to see how they are constituted and how they work, since they have attracted the attention of not a few political men and students alike.

. . . .

A close network of professional and trade unions, or "syndicates," forms the politico-economic basis of the Fascist order. A law, dated April 3, 1926, allows only those unions which are legally recognized to undertake the protection of the economic and moral interests of the various classes of producers, and to conclude collective bargains. But, thanks to the strict enforcement of a clause in this Law which ordains that only one association, syndicate, or union, can be recognized for each class of workers and employers; thanks also to the right which the Law confers upon the Government to grant legal recognition to unions or syndicates which do not include the majority of the persons belonging to a given class of producers, none save Fascist unions were legally recognized. Yet, by virtue of the Law, these Fascist unions represent all the workers and all the employers, even those not belonging to the Fascist unions. The Fascist unions are given besides power to compel all workmen and employers to pay the union subscriptions, of which the amounts are fixed by official Fascist decree; and all producers, workmen and employers alike, are bound by the terms of the collective bargains concluded by the Fascist unions, whether they dissent from them or not.

It follows that there is to-day in Italy no worker by hand or by brain, no landed proprietor or industrialist, who does not depend, even against his will, upon a professional union or organization. Nor is there any professional union or organization of workmen, industrialists or contractors, that does not depend directly upon one of the great national confederations which are managed and controlled by members of the Fascist party. What the Fascists call the "Syndical regimentation of the productive forces of the nation" is, in this mechanical form, complete and absolute. The free will of individuals is wholly suppressed. The law gives only to the "collective" will, as represented by Fascist organizations, the right to express itself and to claim legal status.

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[12] From a special article by Francesco Luigi Ferrari in *The Review of Reviews* (English), June 15, 1929, pp. 487-491.

If these syndical unions or associations, to which the law concedes powers so extensive over individuals, were entitled to give effect to their own will, the economico-political organization of Fascism might be admitted to possess a totally new character. A State which should ignore individuals and take account only of organizations of producers might, it is true, be called "Syndical" rather than "Corporative"; it might be accused of being founded upon a materialistic conception of life; but, were the organizations of producers free to promote the economic interests of their members, nobody could deny that Fascism had essayed the boldest and the most radical reform in the organization of modern States.

They are not free. Neither in fact nor in law do the syndical unions or associations possess internal or external freedom. All-powerful in dealing with individuals who are, always and ever, compelled to obey their commands, they depend in their turn upon the organs of the Fascist party and the State Administration which control their slightest acts and decide their conduct in every particular. By law, all persons must be excluded from the Fascist unions or syndicates who cannot prove that they have to their credit "good political conduct from the national standpoint"; and the directors of such unions, even if elected by a general assembly, cannot take office unless it is also conferred upon them by Government decree, a decree that may be revoked at any moment.

Thus in their entire dependence upon the executive power, the unions become instruments of the economic and political actions of the State. This was clearly shown in 1927, when Mussolini, for reasons of prestige, mobilized all the economic and political forces of the nation for the purpose of revalorizing the currency, no matter at what cost. Had he not been able to dispose of a syndical organization strictly controlled by the executive power, his attempt would have failed lamentably. Thanks to its compulsory support, he succeeded in neutralizing the opposition of industrialists by promising them that workmen would be compelled to accept a reduction of wages: and he was able at the same time to place upon the working and lower middle classes the formidable burden of an ill-conceived financial operation. Not only were the advantages which the working class had gained by long years of effort suddenly annulled at a hint from the Dictator, but collective bargains, recently concluded with employers, were rescinded; and—supreme irony—their rescission was styled "spontaneous renunciation" on the part of the wage-earning masses!

Later on, when it looked as though Signor Edmondo Rossoni, the formerly omnipotent President of the Confederation of Fascist Unions, was dreaming of becoming a rival to Mussolini himself, a simple executive decree sufficed to crush him. On November 22, 1928, the legal recognition of this Confederation was withdrawn; and, in December, the six national federations that had been subordinated to the Confederation were raised, together with the Federation of Intellectual Workers, to the rank of Confederations on their own account. Thus, at a single stroke, Rossoni's power was broken, and the wage-earning masses which had, until then, been included in one great national organization, were split up into seven Confederations incapable of exerting decisive influence upon the policy of the State. Even the mythical "proletarian unity," which Fascism formerly boasted of having brought about by its corporative system, was sacrificed to the security of the dominant oligarchy.

These proceedings were the more remarkable because Mussolini had declared (at the Congress of the Confederation of Fascist Unions on May 6, 1928) that the economico-political order established by Fascism "was still in the syndical phase," and that this phase would not be of short duration, since the syndical system needed to be perfected "in point of regimentation, management and organic construction." Hardly six months passed before care for the security of the Fascist dictatorship itself obliged him to hasten the march of events and boldly to enter upon the "corporative phase." In fact, the Fascist Grand Council decided, on March 7, 1919, to transfer the inter-syndical Committees, which had been set up in every province under the presidency of the local secretaries of the Fascist party, into "provincial corporations" charged with the control of all local syndicates or unions, and to institute at the same time a National Council of Corporations, directly dependent upon the Government and entrusted with the unification of the syndical movement. Thanks to this decision, the Fascist Corporative State possesses, at last, "corporations" properly so called: and the creation of these corporations, dependent upon the Government and upon the Fascist party, has brought about complete nationalization of all professional and trade union organizations.

. . . .

The real position of these organizations becomes clearer if their political powers, and the actual conditions governing the exercise of those powers are carefully considered.

According to the Fascist electoral law, the Councils of the National Confederations, thirteen in number, must "put forward" the names of 800 candidates for membership of the "corporative Parliament." But this right to propose candidates is, in reality, a mere formality, designed to cloak the choice of candidates already made by the Government, as is sufficiently shown by the official reports of the Councils' proceedings before the recent "plebiscite," and by the fact that all the lists, with Mussolini's name at the head of them, were "carried unanimously or by acclamation."

From the list thus "put forward" by the Confederations, the Fascist Grand Council chooses the members of Parliament, with power to add the names of whatever persons may be thought worthy of a seat in the Legislative Assembly, even if these persons have not been "proposed" by the Confederations. Finally, the electorate is not called upon to choose its own representatives from the list thus formed by the Grand Council, but only to approve of the choice which the Grand Council has made; and of the 9 millions of registered electors, only 3½ millions are workmen or employers belonging to the confederated Fascist unions.

Therefore, the new Fascist order of things hardly deserves the name of "corporative." The true organ of the "Fascist Corporative State" is a political body, the Fascist Grand Council, which in reality elects the Legislative Assembly. And it is the Fascist Grand Council which, by laying down the economic policy of the régime, directs the action of the "syndical organizations" in the same way as it controls the action of all other administrative organs of the State.

Now this Fascist Council is by no means an expression of the "corporative organization" of the nation. Though the big Confederations are represented on it, their directors are merely the nominees of the Dictator instructed to manage the Confederations according to his personal will. Besides, these "representatives" of the Confederations number only thirteen of the fifty-two members of the Grand Council; and, were they ever to become the nucleus of a dissentient majority in the Council, Mussolini could always increase the number of his own partizans by exercising his right to appoint to the Grand Council "all those persons" whom he may judge to have "deserved well of the nation and of the cause of the Fascist Revolution."

In a new form, adapted to modern industrial economy, the Fascist Corporative State merely reproduces the absolute organization of power which prevailed in all European countries before the introduction of representative systems of government. The will of the Dictator, and that of the limited oligarchy of his partizans, form the only law. There is no check upon him. Only yesterday, Mussolini, hoping to bolster up his position, which had been shaken by an economic crisis of three years' duration, was able to impose upon a Fascist Grand Council consisting almost entirely of free-thinkers, a Concordat with the Roman Catholic Church. With the secret aim of subordinating religious institutions to the control of the Fascist State, this Concordat restores certain features of the pre-liberal period. Similarly, nothing could prevent him—if he thought it expedient for the preservation of his power—from replacing the monarchy by a republic, or from establishing a communist system in Italy by "royal" decree. This state of things gives the measure of the stability of institutions dependent upon the will of one man and of his clan of partizans. . . .

In Italy, "corporativism," unhampered by serious resistance, has been able freely to reveal its true essence, and to draw economic and political conclusions from its premises. With what result? Under the pretext of regarding human beings as *producers* rather than as *citizens,* individuals have been subordinated to the omnipotence of the State, their rights denied by treating them as so many revocable concessions which the sovereign State has granted, and their personal liberties annulled by being made subject to the arbitrary action of organizations that are subject, in their turn, to the good pleasure of the Government. Under the pretense of replacing democratic individualism by an organic order of society, individuals have been forced into a framework arbitrarily arranged by those who hold power. All freedom of opinion has been suppressed. Personality is no longer looked upon as anything but a mechanical factor in collective prosperity. In such a state of things the vaunted "corporation" is conceived only as an economic and political organ which permits the State to dominate without let or hindrance the whole spiritual and material activity of an entire people, and to subject citizens to a clan which, claiming a new divine right, pretends to speak in the name of the nation.

IV. PROBLEMS AND CONSEQUENCES

The results of Fascism, as is true of most contemporary movements, are highly controversial. Yet from the opposing statements of protagonists and opponents a certain consensus is discernible.

I. "FACING FACTS" [13]

. . . My discourse is divided into three parts: first an examination of the situation of the Italian people from the standpoint of physical health and of the race; second, an examination of the administrative organization of the Nation; third, general directing policies of the State, both present and future.

Physical Health of the Italian People

Health measures.—Some one, in former times, affirmed that the State should not preoccupy itself with the physical health of the people, that the doctrine of "laissez faire," non-interference, should apply even here.

This theory is suicidal.

It is evident that in a well ordered state the care of the people's physical health ought to be of prime importance.

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[13] Address delivered by Benito Mussolini, Head of the Government, before the Chamber of Deputies, May 26, 1927, and sent by him for inclusion in this volume.

How do we stand upon this question? What is the situation? Is the Italian race, the Italian people in its physical expression, in a period of splendor, or are there symptoms of decadence? If the movement is retrogressive, what are the possibilities for the future?

These questions are important not only to the medical profession, or to those who profess the doctrines of sociology, but above all to the government.

As regards this question, the situation is disheartening enough.

The figures which are reported to me by the General Department of Health, directed by the illustrious Professor Messea who does his work with ninety-one fewer employees than would have been allowed him by the administration are about normal.

The social diseases are on the increase, and there are symptoms upon which it is timely to cause you to reflect and to cause the attention of those who have a sense of responsibility to be focussed, as much upon the core as upon the surface.

The so-called social diseases are showing signs of recrudescence. We must concern ourselves with them, and do so in time.

Meanwhile, what has the General Department of Health done? A great many things, which I am going to read to you, were it only to furnish the necessary documentation.

It has, first of all, strengthened the sanitary defenses on the frontiers of the Nation, both land and maritime. Under the direct surveillance of the public health forces nine thousand vessels have been de-ratted, that is, those rodents have been killed which carry to us contagious diseases from the Orient: that Orient from which come to us many lovely things, yellow fever, and Bolshevism. . . . (*Laughter.*) We have occupied ourselves with the sanitary profession, with sanitary aid, with scholastic hygiene, with anti-tubercular services, with the fight against malignant tumors, with the inspection of foodstuffs and beverages, with hygienic works, aqueducts and sewer-building, with narcotics, with patent medicines, and finally, with the provincial anti-tubercular societies.

All this, probably, tells you nothing whatever. But let us pass on to the figures, which are always interesting. To begin with, it can to-day be said that a social disease which has weighed heavily upon the people of Italy for at least forty years has completely disappeared. I am speaking of pellagra. In absolute figures, 198 died of pellagra in 1922; decreasing to 108 in 1925. In Venetia, which was the region most affected, the figure is 1.3 dead per 100,000 inhabitants. To-day it can thus be said that the Italian Nation has decisively won this battle.

But not as much can be said for tuberculosis. This is still greatly on the increase. The figures are terrible, and should cause reflection. They advance from a minimum of 52,293 in 1922 to 59,000 in 1925. The region which suffers most is Julian Venetia; the one least affected is Basilicata.

Likewise noteworthy is the number of those who are stricken with infirmities due to malignant tumors. Here the region most affected is Tuscany; the least stricken, fortunately, is Sardinia, which pays, however, a tribute most sorrowful and numerous to malaria.

The absolute figures for deaths by malaria are not great and show a diminution. They go from 4,085 in 1922 to 3,588 in 1925. Here Sardinia has first place: 99 deaths per 100,000 inhabitants.

Another question to which it is necessary to attract the attention of well informed citizens is that of the mortality due to alcoholism. The organizers of the recent Anti-Prohibitionist Convention need fear nothing from what I am going to say about this question.

Not only am I not a believer in absolute abstention; rather I think that if reasonable doses of alcohol had been able to do much harm to the human race, humanity by this time would have been wiped out, or very nearly so, for fermented liquids have been drunk ever since prehistoric times. On the other hand, there is no doubt that in Italy people are beginning to drink too egregiously. (*Hilarity.*)

Mortara, in his *Prospettive Economiche,* informs us that Italy has three million hectares devoted to vineyards: one million more than have France and Spain, which are, as you know, world producers of wine.

The number of deaths of alcoholism is not excessive: it ranges from 664 in 1922 to 1,315 in 1925.

We wished to reduce the sales, which were very great since there were 187,000 taverns in Italy! We have closed 25,000 of them, and will proceed energetically in this direction because we are able to do so. Since we shall probably not have further occasion to solicit votes from the owners and from their clients (*Hilarity*) as happened during the liberal, democratic Middle Ages (*Laughter*), we can allow ourselves the luxury of closing these bargain counters of ruinous felicity.

The mortality by insanity is also on the increase, as is the number of suicides.

You see from these figures that the situation, though not dark and tragic, merits rigorous attention.

It is necessary, therefore, to watch seriously over the destiny of the race, and to care for the race, beginning with maternity and infancy. This is the purpose of the National Institute for the protection of maternity and infancy. . . .

There exist in this country 7,500 institutions which attend to maternity and infancy, but they have not sufficient funds. As a result we have the tax on bachelors, to which in a not distant future might perhaps be added the tax on childless marriages. (*Approbation.*)

This tax yields from 40 to 50 millions, but do you really think that I wanted it only on this account? I used this tax to give the Nation a demographic scourging.

This may surprise you, and some one of you may say: but why? was there any need?

There is need.

Some unintelligent man says: we are too many. The intelligent reply: we are too few! (*Approbation.*)

Demographic Power of the Nation

I assert that the datum, not fundamental, but prejudicial to the political power and hence the economic and moral power of nations, is their man power.

Let us speak to the point: What are forty million Italians compared to ninety million Germans and to two hundred million Slavs? Let us turn to the west: what are forty million Italians compared to forty million French in addition to ninety million colonial inhabitants, or compared to forty-six million English in addition to the four hundred and fifty million colonials?

Gentlemen, Italy, to count for anything, should appear on the threshold of the second half of this century with a population of not less than sixty millions. (*Approbation.*)

You may say: How will they exist in the territory? The same reasoning was very likely brought forward in 1815, when there were living in Italy but sixteen million inhabitants. Perhaps at that time it was also thought impossible that in the same territory could be found, on an infinitely higher standard of living, food and lodging for the forty million Italians of to-day.

For five years we have been going about saying that the Italian population is overflowing. It is not true! The river no longer overflows; rapidly enough it is again entering its channel.

All nations and empires have felt the bite of their decadence when they have seen their birth rates decline. . . .

Administrative Arrangement of the Country

Creation of new provinces.—Why have I created seventeen new provinces? The better to distribute the population: because these provincial centers when left to themselves produced people who finally grew weary and drifted toward the large cities, where there are all those pleasant and stupid things to enchant those looking at life with the eyes of youth.

There were, at the time of the march on Rome, 69 provinces in the Kingdom. The population had increased by 15 millions, but no one had ever dared to touch this problem and to penetrate this *terra ignota,* because in the old régime the idea or hypothesis of diminishing or increasing a province, of taking a fraction from a commune, or, for example, the children's asylum from a fraction of a commune, was so great a problem as to force the severest ministerial crises.

We are freer in this matter, and from the time of our coming into office we have modified the more absurd historical and geographical incongruencies of the administrative arrangement of the Italian state. . . .

The creation of these provinces has been accomplished without any pressure from the interested parties; it was perfectly logical for the federal secretaries to be wined and dined, but they didn't know anything about it! (*Laughter.*) . . .

Scarcely was the list of new provinces published in the newspapers when demands arose. Some cities, which held themselves worthy of this honor, asked for it. But I replied with a telegram to the notables of Caltagirone saying that until 1932 that would not be thought of. Why in 1932? Because in 1932 the census which we have just set about preparing will be finished. We need four years. But I have decided that within six months the result of the 1931 census ought to be known. Then, very probably, there will be a new arrangement of the Italian provinces, there will be cities which will become provinces, if the people have been industrious, disciplined, prolific. (*Applause.*)

Municipal organization and administrative reforms.—In the interim we have instituted city managers (podestà) [14] in all the communes of the Kingdom.

When the institution of the "podestà" was mentioned, not a few shed tears over the old system of elections which disappeared in the administrative competitions.

Well, the appointment of magistrates has been changed in all of Italy without those incidents and disorders which certain ones prophesied. A few disturbances, slight, and limited to small towns. And it is understood that, in the question of the first magistrate from the citizens of a town, the first incumbent of the series, there might be strife to see which of the candidates is endowed with the superior virtues. This is only human, it is natural. But the fact is that all the magistrates installed, or almost all, are functioning with the full and often the enthusiastic coöperation of the people.

I ought to say a word from this rostrum to the "podestà" of Italy: Go slowly on expenditures!

I understand perfectly that the first "podestà" of the series wishes to do something to make people say: This is the Coliseum (*laughter*). . . . This is the fountain, the school, etc.

But slowly; everything must be in keeping with the policy of the Government, for otherwise we shall have disproportion and the communes will go into debt. They will not be able to pay the debts, will lay taxes and turn to the State which will levy other taxes, because the Fascist State does not want to issue new paper money.

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[14] Translator's note—*Podestà*—Mayor appointed by the Government with absolute powers.

Slowly, then, with the municipalizations. This is a left-over of the old administrative socialism. (*Applause.*)

Slowly also with ceremonies, banquets, and displays (*Applause and Approbation*), possibly even with speeches. (*Hilarity.*)

However, we shall proceed gradually to the reordering of municipal boundaries: nine thousand communes in Italy are too many. There are some that have 200, 300, 400 inhabitants. They cannot exist, they must resign themselves to dissolution and fusion into greater centers.

One service has given excellent results: the inspection service. As you know, there are in the prefectures functionaries whose duty it is to inspect the municipal administrative managements. Let us see the results: inspections which have discovered serious irregularities, which have brought about the adoption of special provisions, 238; inspections which have revealed a few book-keeping errors and without any practical consequence, 2,041; inspections which have verified the regular administrative functioning, 176. Total of inspections: 2,455. From this you see that the service is functioning and is absolutely necessary. . . .

The forces of public safety.—We come to the police. Fortunately the Italians are freeing themselves from the residua left in their minds by the memories of foreign domination—Hapsburg, Bourbon, Grand-Ducal—by reason of which the police represented an odious, abominable function, one to be avoided.

Gentlemen: we may now say that the police should not only be respected, but honored. (*Approbation.*) Gentlemen: we may say that man, before feeling the need of culture, felt the need of order. In a certain sense it might be said that historically the cop preceded the professor (*hilarity*), for if there is no arm dangling salutary handcuffs, the laws remain a dead letter and worthless.

Naturally it requires Fascist courage to speak in these terms. The Honorable Mr. Federzoni left a law of public safety which is almost perfect. But it was necessary, after the law, to create the forces of public safety. We have in Italy sixty thousand *carabinieri,* fifteen thousand policemen, five thousand metropolitan, ten thousand belonging, so to speak, to the technical militia: railway, harbor, telegraph, traffic, all militia and police who accomplish a regular and useful service. Then we have the border guards and finally the Forestry Service.

I calculate that the Administration has a force of a hundred thousand men on police duty. It is an imposing number. It was necessary to reform the police, especially the plain clothes men. I did not want to add to the number of men in uniform, that is, I did not want the fifteen thousand plain clothes men to wear a uniform. No, those are officers. It is useless always to bell the cat! (*Hilarity.*) Too many uniforms, no uniforms. But when a police force is in plain clothes and not controllable through the uniform, it should be picked; that is, it should be composed of blameless, zealous, and taciturn citizens.

All those who have not these attributes, I dismiss without compunction. Thus during these months I have removed seven questors, four vice-questors, twenty commissioners, six special commissioners, five vice-commissioners, and have given a hasty cleaning, a stroke of the broom, to that Police Department in Milan which I never liked. (*Hilarity.*) There are now fifty-two other officers in process of being retired and thirty-seven employees of Group C. But this is the beginning of the cleaning up. It will have to be continued.

Then it was necessary to give means to the police. Modern crime is very far advanced, like progress: (*Comments*) it is acquainted with chemistry, physics, ballistics, it uses all the swiftest means. The Italian police still had old automobiles which by the noise of their loose machinery warned criminals from a distance, giving them time to flee. (*Hilarity.*)

We have brought the automobiles of the Police Department from 161 to 611. All the legion commands of the *carabinieri* have automobiles. As much may be said for all the legion commands of the voluntary militia. The police to-day, then, make use of 774 automobiles, 290 trucks, 198 motorcycles, and 48 boats both powered and not powered, as well as 12,000 bicycles.

From a police force so reformed, so organized, and so equipped, I expect many things. And they are being done.

Three functions of the Italian police.—I shall speak to you of three tasks accomplished by the Italian police: the fight against counterfeiters, the fight against the "jungle" gangs, the fight against the Mafia.

The fight against counterfeiters is a fight against spurious coinage (*Signs of attention*), a crime for which 824 people were arrested during the past year.

It is dangerous to counterfeit the money of the Fascist State! (*Approbation.*)

We come to the "jungles"; these are a tract between the provinces of Rome and Naples, formerly Caserta: marshy, bare, malarial, inhabited by a population which since Roman times has had a bad reputation, and was called a population of *latrones*. (*Laughter.*)

I will give you an idea of the law breaking in this territory: in the five years between 1922 and 1926 the following major crimes were committed, passing over the minor: outrages to public authority, 171; arson, 378; homicide, 169; assault, 918; theft and rapine, 2,082; damage, 404.

This is one part of this section. Let us look at the other part, Aversano: outrages, 81; arson, 161; homicide, 194; assault, 410; theft and rapine, 702; damage, 193.

I dispatched a major of *carabinieri* with these orders: Free me from this crime with fire and sword! (*Approbation.*)

This major went to work in good earnest. In fact, from December until now, there have been arrested for crimes actually committed and for a preventive measure in the territory of the "jungles" 1,699 gangsters, and in the district of Aversa, 1,268.

The "podestà" of that region are exultant, the police likewise, I have here a packet of telegrams, letters, resolutions, documents in which the healthy portion of that population thanks the constituted authorities, the authorities of the Fascist Administration, for the necessary work of hygiene, which will be carried to completion.

We come to the Mafia.

Deputies! Here also shall I speak clearly: it does not matter to me in the least if tomorrow all the newspapers in the world appropriate my figures. The press of the world must, however, admit that Fascist surgery is truly heroic treatment, is truly timely. (*Approbation.*)

From time to time doubtful voices reach my ear which try to give the impression that the situation in Sicily is really exaggerated, that an entire region is being mortified, that a shadow is being thrown on an island of noblest traditions. Disdainfully I dismiss these voices, which can issue from none save disreputable sources. (*Loudest approbation.*)

Gentlemen, it is time for me to expose the Mafia. But first of all, first of all, I wish to strip this brigandish association of every last scrap of poetic charm, which it does not in the least deserve. (*Loud applause.*) Let us not speak of the nobility and chivalry of the Mafia, if we do not wish truly to insult all Sicily! (*Loud and prolonged applause.*) . . .

Some one will ask me: When will the struggle against the Mafia end? It will end when there are not only none of its members left, but when the memory of the Mafia shall have been definitely wiped from the recollection of the Sicilians. (*Good!*)

Border police.—Let us speak of the border police.

You know that the border is watched by the black shirts, by the *carabinieri,* agents, and revenue guards, in this proportion: 55 officials, 294 agents, 1,626 *carabinieri,* 2,806 black shirts, and, 4,417 revenue guards. Why do I give these figures? For a very simple reason: to clear the minds of those beyond the frontier. (*Good!*)

When the black shirts arrived at the western frontier, some one heard the tread of the legions which went beyond the hill of Argentera, the pass of Tenda, into foreign territory. That is ridiculous. On the whole western frontier there are only 900 black shirts, whose business, alas, is only with the bad Italians who want to leave and with the bad Italians who want to enter.

Political Action of the Fascist State

The revolution against the anti-revolution.—I come to the third part of my discourse: the political action of the Fascist State.

You recall in what circumstances I assumed the office of Minister of the Interior. Recall the great day of October 31 at Bologna: an incomparable and unrivalled spectacle which will never be forgotten by any who saw and were in it. You recall the negligible incident of that evening. There was deep feeling in Italy, and it was necessary to act. The revolution had to confront the anti-revolution.

It was then that on this sheet of paper written by my hand, in pencil, as you see, I dictated the measures that had to be taken: the recall and revision of all foreign passports; the order to fire without warning on any one surprised in the act of secretly crossing the frontier; the suppression of all daily and periodical anti-fascist publications; the dissolution of all associations, organizations, and groups, either anti-fascist or suspected of anti-fascism; the deportation of all those who were suspected of anti-fascism or who showed any counter-revolutionary activity whatever, and of all who abusively wore the black shirt; the creation of a special police in all the territories, and the creation of police officers for investigation and of a special tribunal.

The Honorable Mr. Federzoni, who is a soldier faithful to orders, wished to return to the Colonial Ministry; but he desired, before doing so, to elaborate these measures and bring them with his elaborations before the Council of Ministers. This should be noted and remembered.

These measures have been applied. They have been applied with intelligence, for it is necessary to be very intelligent in carrying out a work of repression.

All the opposition newspapers have been suppressed; all the anti-fascist factions have been dissolved; there has been created the special police of the legions which is already rendering signal service; there have been created the political offices for investigation; there has been created the special tribunal, which functions efficiently and has not caused any trouble, and will never do so, especially if the measure is adopted to exclude from its sittings the feminine elements (*Comments, Approbation and Laughter*), which often brings into serious affairs the incorrigible sign of its frivolity (*Laughter*); the punishment of confinement within given boundaries has been applied.

Why have I said that in this work it is necessary to be intelligent? Because the opposition in Italy must not be exaggerated, as perhaps has been done. It has been more slapstick (*Laughter*) than anything else: it has spilled much ink, but in reality during these five years of Fascist administration there has only been the collective demonstration over the so-called "soldino," and the appearance of a few armored cars between Messina and Palermo was enough to bring that to an end. Then there was the great Aventine carnival-party, in the latter part of 1924; but the opposition never left its journalistic entrenchments and besides I would have been waiting for them in the other trenches. Then there was the annoying series of attempts on my life, annoying for you.

How many of these men under detention are there? It is time to say, in view of the fact that abroad there are rumors of 200,000 banished (*Comments and Laughter*) and in Milan alone 26,000 are supposed to have been raked up. It is both stupid and despicable. Meanwhile let us divide them into their two categories: the common and the political.

I hope that no one will be moved to compassion for the common exiles. They are, in general, true rabble, thieves, procurers, dope peddlers, loan sharks, etc., who ought to be swiftly removed from circulation. (*Applause.*) Perhaps the categories of the common exiles will be increased. These common exiles number in all 1,527.

Voices. Is that all!

MUSSOLINI, *Head of the Government, Prime Minister, Minister of the Interior.* Banishment has been in practice scarcely five months. (*Laughter.*)

Let us proceed to the political prisoners. There were warned 1,541 individuals, 959 were admonished, and 698 are on the Islands. I defy any one to contradict the significance of these figures, which as you see are modest. But not one of these exiles wishes to be anti-fascist and some seem to be fascist. In fact, up to the 21st of May of the current year, of 698 held in detention, 61 have declared that they had shown no political activity whatever; 286, that they had ceased long since all political activity; 185, that they had not shown subversive activity; 182, that they ceased long since subversive activity; 59, that they had not belonged to a political party; 69, that they had resigned long since from political parties; 29, that they had submitted to the government; 21, that they stood fast in their own political ideas; 52, that they had not made a declaration of a political character.

But here is an interesting correspondence from the human standpoint. I shall not give the names of those who have sent me these letters, which are interesting. The fact that almost all the prisoners have addressed themselves to me ought to be considered as one of the greatest successes of the Fascist Administration; first of all, because none of those fellows wanted to have the reproach of being anti-fascist, and in the second place, because all, notwithstanding their past records, knew that they could turn to me if they merited justice. *"I believe,"* says one, *"that my having professed Maximalist ideas and my having exercised the parliamentary mandate within the bounds of the laws in force can not constitute a legitimate reason for proceedings against me"; "I was active in the Communist Party until yesterday, since the party is no longer recognized as a political body in the State, I resign."* (*Hilarity.*)

Mr. X *"declares having decided to renounce all political activity"*; Mr.

Y writes that *"having followed unorthodox political idealism does not clear* sic et simpliciter *the way to the adoption of so grave a measure as that in my case"*; another promises *"to abandon all forms of political activity and to retire to S. Margherita Ligure."* It is an excellent place! (*Much hilarity.*)

"I preached Marxism," says another, *"according to the law of evolution understood dialectically."* (*Hilarity.*)

Mr. Z *"had tried as hard as he could to make the party change its tactics."* Without success! (*Hilarity.*) . . . *"I reaffirm my heritage of ideals but I retired long since to private life."* . . . *"It was only in these latter days that the corporate order which has clarified my ideas has taken form."* (*Hilarity.*)

Here is another one who loves suspense and says that he will suspend all activity during the entire time of the Fascist Régime! (*Loud hilarity.*)

These documents have an acute interest from the humanitarian point of view. Now, these exiles are certainly not in a brilliant position, but let us not exaggerate! They receive in the meantime ten revaluated lire a day (*Hilarity.*) They have been separated from the common prisoners, they have been concentrated on only two islands. Some have spoken of amnesty. No, gentlemen, no amnesty; amnesty will not be spoken of until 1932, and it will be spoken of in 1933, if, as I hope, it will not be necessary to continue the application of the special laws. But the refusal of collective amnesty does not prevent the granting of individual clemency, especially when they are recommended by Fascisti and sometimes even by whole Fascist directorates! (*Comments.*)

Upon what basis do I proceed in the matter of pardoning? First of all I take into account the war service record of the exile. Obviously, if the man has been wounded, decorated, or is an ex-service man, he has a better right than the others; then I take into account the conditions of family and health; then I consider also the declarations which the petitioner makes.

National prophylaxis.—Is this, gentlemen, a Terror? No, it is not Terror, it is scarcely rigor. Terrorism? Not at all; it is social hygiene, national prophylaxis. (*Comments.*) These individuals are being removed from circulation as a doctor quarantines an infected person.

But then, who are those who impute to the most humane of revolutions terror? But here people no longer have any idea of what terror is! The terror of other revolutions, for example the terror of that revolution from which sprung the so-called immortal principles! But what terror was that which guillotined an average of twenty heads each morning in the Place de la Madeleine? But what terror was that which drowned thousands of people in rivers, which slaughtered thousands of people in prison, which sent to the guillotine a chemist like Lavoisier, a poet like Chenier, dozens of jurists, which destroyed whole regions, which sowed everywhere terror and death, which respected neither youths, nor old men, nor women, nor babies, nor civilians, nor priests, which had the motto that to have a revolution it is necessary to lop off many heads? It is necessary for me to give you the bibliography of the Terror? No, you know it, but I advise you to read this book; it is a *"vient de paraître,"* and is entitled: *Le suppliziate del terrore*. It is the history of the 2,000 guillotined women, often the mother together with the daughters, often the entire family, and often, which is more striking, it was not a question of aristocrats, but of poor people discovered with a crucifix in their bosoms.

Whited sepulchers, sepulchers filled with corruption, do not speak of terror when the Fascist revolution does simply its duty: defends itself! (*Very loud, vibrant, prolonged applause. The deputies rise clapping, to their feet; applause even from the tribunes.*)

It has chanced that some lawyer's study has been wrecked, or some professor's library: I deplore it. But between 1789 and 1793 (mind that I do not want to make a ridiculous case against the French Revolution; I document only the historical period, because history always justifies itself) there was a hunting down of ability. Condorcet in his sketch of a constitution had said that free people know no merits deserving preference other than ability and virtue: Delbois, one of Robespierre's collaborators, replied to this article and said that only intriguers still speak of ability; Carrier, at Nantes, promised to kill all men of ability; in the clubs of Paris, any one who had written a book was distrusted!

It is certain that since then all opposition in Italy is overthrown, dispersed, finished: dust. An important group, like that of the Azione Cattolica, has given its adherence to the Régime. Then there was the movement of the confederalists. Let us speak of this episode. The import of this happening has been exaggerated. When the circular was published under Rigola's signature, I asked the newspapers not to headline it, to accept it at its face value, because we obviously do not want to hang all men to their past. There would be too many hooks around. It had to be interpreted as a sign of the times, as a sign of the adhesive force of the Administration; and so it is in reality. We may doubt some of those individuals who surround Rigola, but Rigola is a man of honor, at least, and he is certainly a man of ability and culture, and the declaration contained things well worth knowing, even from the Fascist point of view.

Opposition not necessary.—Here arises the problem: how manage to exist without an opposition? The opposition is necessary, because it looks well in the picture.

We reject in the most perfect and disdainful manner this method of reasoning. Opposition is not necessary to the functioning of a sound political régime. Opposition is stupid; superfluous in a unanimous administration like the Fascist régime. The opposition is useful in normal times, as was the case before the War, when they debated in the Camera if, how, and when Socialism should be realized, and a debate took place, which evidently was not serious, in spite of the men who participated in it. But opposition we have within our own numbers, my friends. We are not old nags that have to be spurred. We control ourselves severely. Opposition we find always in affairs, in the objective difficulties of life, which gives us a huge mountain of opposition, which could exhaust minds even superior to my own.

Therefore let no one hope that after this discourse anti-fascist newspapers will be seen, no! nor that the resurrection of anti-fascist groups will be allowed: never! Let us now go back to my speech delivered before the revolution in a little ward club of Milan, the "Antonio Sciesa"; in Italy there is no room for anti-fascisti; there is room only for FASCISTI, and for a Fascisti when they are upright and exemplary citizens. (*Applause.*)

It must not now be thought that the fascist revolution—seeing that now even our fiercest enemies are convinced that we are re-forming Italy from top to bottom, and we have scarcely started—can come to terms with the counter-revolution. What will happen? It will follow that the light of the anti-fascisti will be reduced to a small glimmer; they will live on sainted memories; they cannot do otherwise. Do you know that until 1914 there was a Bourbon group in Naples? (*Comments.*) Do you know that until 1914 there was even printed a newspaper called the *Neo-Guelfo*? (*Hilarity.*) Who were they? They were old functionaries of the Bourbon epoch, who, every time they saw the *crachats* of the decorations, or the papyri of their régime, were moved to tears. At last came the War, they met, placed a grave-stone on the club, and never spoke of it again. (*Laughter.*) So it will be with all anti-fascisti; some time or other they will realize that it is stupid to butt their heads against the stone wall.

Fascist prefects.—I come to another point: régime, prefects, party.

Those who remember the Grand Council, the first Grand Council, which was held at the *Grand Hotel* on January 11, 1923, and which was most important because it created the Grand Council and the Militia, will recall that I said to the Party: give me 76 fascist prefects and 76 questors. It seems a heresy to be a prefect and even more so to be a questor. It appeared that I had made an obscene proposal. (*Laughter.*) Anyway, there were some heroes who consented to be prefects, leaving the party, and two of these among the others have functioned especially well. I speak of Devita, who is at Turin, and of Guerresi, who is immovable at Cosenza.

Therefore it is not true that only in November are prefects taken from the party. The experiment was made before, only with a reduced aliquot.

I must say that the prefects taken from the party are functioning splendidly. (*Approbation.*) I add that when I decide to have a reassignment of the prefects, and by this time you have noticed that movements are rare and infrequent because prefects must not travel continually in post to post transfers, for otherwise they will end by no longer knowing anything about the provincial situation; when I decide, as I was saying, to have a change of prefects, I shall call on the party for another aliquot of Fascist prefects, from the first members possibly.

The circular letter to the prefects.[15]—The circular to the prefects is a fundamental document because it has established the exact position of the Party in the Régime in a manner which will not allow further equivocation. I say quickly that from the conferences which I have had with at least 90 prefects, I have learned that only in about ten provinces, gentlemen, was the situation not clear, that is, there was what I call sliding of authority, metayage of power. But in all the other provinces I must solemnly declare that all the federal secretaries were, as they should be, subordinate to the Head of the province.

Just as at the center the Hon. Mr. Turati comes to me every morning for orders, likewise it is logical, and not simply formal analogy, that in the provinces the same should hold true.

The position thus cleared up, there can still be frictions, for human nature is not easily tamed, but these frictions will diminish, and in any event, I will never give the head of a prefect to any federal secretary (*Approbation*) especially if this prefect comes from the National Fascist Party, and if he is, as he ought to be, an upright functionary, devoted servant of the Régime. (*Applause.*)

Furthermore, in this circular I occupied myself with another phenomenon. At the present time this discourse has a value purely retrospective, for many of these phenomena are on the road to exhaustion and definite disappearance. I attended to squadism, which has been a great thing as an instrument of fascist activity, but it is simply absurd, ridiculous, and stupid to make it something by itself. Squadism is derived from squad; thus we might make also battalionism and regimentism. Can a simple tactical formation of battle furnish the motive for an order, for a theory? No. And furthermore, gentlemen, there has been squadism in only one part of Italy. The true great heroic squadism extends from Turin to Trieste, in the Valle Padana, in Tuscany, and in Umbria; farther south there was none (*Approbation*) save in the Puglie or in a few other centers.

Tardy squadism is therefore simply absurd. Fascisti ought to be up to the minute. I cannot stand physically those who suffer from nostalgia, who every minute are heaving from their chests sighs and deep breaths: the good old times! All that is simply idiotic! (*Applause.*) Life goes on, gentlemen, and continually we have before us the living reality.

Squadism when it wears the gray-green color, is an army which must fight. (*Applause.*)

And there is a profound difference as to what relates to lawlessness. Here again the discourse has a retrospective value. I have apologized for violence nearly all my life long (*Approbation*); I did so when I was at the head of Italian socialism, and at that time I made weak with fear the bellies, sometimes redundant, of my political associates with many warlike previsions: the bath of blood, the historic days!

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[15] See p. 467 for this circular, "The Duties of Italian Prefects."

I wanted to test the fighting spirit of that mythical, intangible entity which was called the Italian proletariat. But I have always distinguished violence from violence since the congress of Udine, since the speeches in the ward clubs, and I have always said that there is the timely chivalrous violence of man to man, noble, better than compromise and conciliation. But acts of violence which serve personal interests, these are not Fascism. (*Loud applause.*) And they have been done away with from the time that the Régime reassumed to itself all power, and to one person alone, all authority.

The régime is judged by its champions.—Another point of retrospective character: when a régime, when a party has assumed the terrible and grave responsibility of power, then it is responsible *in toto,* and even the last private in the last Fascio in Italy has his share of responsibility. The Régime is judged by him as it is judged by me, and the people have a perfect right to judge the Régime by the champions which it offers them. (*Applause.*) And if these champions are not up to the situation, the people have the right to manifest their severe judgment. Why? Because we are, and we boast that we are, an authoritive Régime, and no one ought to think, not even doubt, that we have adopted this severe discipline simply to hide something which is not of the purest and clearest. (*Loud applause.*)

But there was besides a distinction full of doctrine and full of life in that circular: the distinction between the moral order and the public order. They are not the same thing. There can be a perfect public order and there can be a profound moral disorder. (*Comments.*)

Moral order and public order.—We ought to preoccupy ourselves with the moral order, not with the public order, because for the public order, in the police sense of the word, we have forces enough: we ought instead to preoccupy ourselves with the moral order, and we ought to desire, working at the bottom, that the contact between the masses and the Régime may be always more widespread, always more firm, always more conscious. (*Applause.*)

But meanwhile what has been the result of this policy? A sense of peace diffused throughout the country. The small local arrogances are ended, the illegalities as well. All the party elements are organized; at any rate, when they are not, I strike them. Let no one deceive himself into thinking that I do not know what is happening in the country down to the last village in Italy. I will know a little late, but at last I know it, and then comes my sword, as happened recently in a large city, where I severed the fascisti who work, and who show how they work, from those who can not make that brilliant, that necessary demonstration. (*Applause.*)

I told you that in these first four months of 1927 the incidents followed by casualties have numbered eleven in all Italy. In four months last year, they were 99. This shows that the sense of discipline and order are now diffused among all classes of citizens.

Honorable colleagues, we are now at the end of the fifth year of the Régime. You know that I am always a little discontented, yet if I look around me, if I look at what we have accomplished in these five years, I have some reason for satisfaction. I shall tell you shortly what is the deeper reason for my satisfaction; you perhaps do not guess it at this moment.

The forces of the Régime.—The forces of the Régime are compact, firm, indestructible. What are these forces? In the first place, the Government. There are still some idle men who at every Council of ministers sin again with the old sins, for the force of habit sometimes is most dangerous, and speak of reorganization. (*Hilarity.*) And my ear ought to be hurt by that terminology, which reminds me of the time of Charlemagne. No, the Government is compact, solid, attuned; and you ought to consider that in the Fascist Government all the ministers and all the sub-secretaries of State are soldiers; they go where their Head says that they must go, and they remain when I tell them to stay. There is nothing of that which recalls the old cookery of former times! There is instead the rigid martial discipline of the Fascist Régime.

Next to the Government, the Party. The Party has bettered its membership in these latter times: it has closed the doors; those who were fascisti in 1925, 1924, 1923, very well; now one can no longer become a fascist.

So much the worse for those who were late: our trains do not wait for them!

But how shall we nourish the party with vital lymphs? With youth.

I hope that you have reflected on the extraordinarily symbolical and profoundly vital significance of the ceremony of March 28; that conscription in mass of the youth which enters the Party and receives a card, as it receives a musket, which is infinitely more.

Thus the party renews itself in ten years: thus at a certain time there will be a Council of ministers in which the President may be from 28 to 30 years old. For it is not true that it is necessary to be old or, for instance, in the second childhood to be able to govern: No. There have been ministers in England 20, 21 years old, and they have governed brilliantly what was and is the most powerful empire in the world.

People ought to feel also—I hope to teach it to Italians—the pudicity of old age.

Next to the Party, the Militia: the Militia, which in these latter times has become a body even more important than it was, and which meanwhile has had the satisfaction of having the guardianship of the frontier, of giving its officials to the special Tribunal, of establishing the political Offices of Investigation, of obtaining six thousand muskets every month.

The legions have been supplied with the necessary means. They are being studied for use in case of war, since the problem of the Militia is an organic problem. Meanwhile to those over 40 years old will be given the anti-aircraft defense and the coast defense.

But above all the Militia has had the premilitary education which has given superb results. Thus is the fascist army made: from the bottom; thus are made warrior generations! Not only of soldiers who obey because commanded, but generations of soldiers who fight because such is their desire! (*Approbation.*) Because this is their passion for they feel that they carry an idea!

The armies which have conquered have been the armies which bore on their banner an idea. And we to-day carry the idea of order, of hierarchy, of the authority of the State against the suicidal theory of disorder, undiscipline, irresponsibility.

The syndicates are doing well. Especially those which consist of the faithful solid rural masses. One should not have, however, too many illusions about that which concerns the so-called specifically industrial proletariat: it is largely still distant and, if no longer contrary as at one time, absent.

It is evident that we shall have to be aided also by the fatal laws of life. The generation of irreducibles, those who have not understood the War and do not know anything about Fascism, will some time or other be eliminated by natural laws. Youths will come up, there will come up the workmen and peasants whom we are recruiting in the "Young Fascisti" and the "Junior Fascisti": powerful institutions, powerful organisms which give us a means of controlling the life of the nation between the ages of six and sixty, and to create the new Italia, the Fascist Italia.

Then, next to the syndicates, we have to-day all the live forces of culture, of intellect, of economy, of the banks. The Régime comprises all, but it is the Régime with the largest popular support in history. What support have the other régimes? How is their Government formed? By a majority vote. But how is the majority created? By an electoral consultation. I shall speak in a little while of electoral consultations.

This Régime, instead, is a Régime which rests upon a party of a million individuals, upon another million youths, upon millions and millions of Italians, who go on perfecting themselves, refining themselves, organizing themselves. No other government in any other part of the world has a more vast and profound foundation than that of the Italian Government.

Popular support and formation of a directing class.—A problem. We have popular support. In fact the opposition is reduced to some vociferative effort (*Laughter*), but so fantastic and idiotic that the people itself disposes of it summarily. The directing class is beginning to exist. There are, in fact, 9 thousand "podestà," 20 thousand officials of the Militia, thousands of Fascist organizers, who to-morrow could assume an office of command.

Sometimes I thought that after five years I should see a large part of my task completed. Gentlemen, I am convinced that it is not so. I realize it, as I realize that this is a book (in my hand). I neither like it nor dislike it. I am convinced that, in spite of the fact that there is a directing class in the process of formation, in spite of the fact that there is a discipline of the people ever more conscious, I must take to myself the task of governing the Italian Nation for ten or fifteen years more. It is necessary. My successor is not yet born. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

And why? But is it, then, a lust for power which holds me? No. I truly believe that no Italian thinks this: not even my worst enemy. It is a duty. A duty to the revolution and to Italy.

We still have great tasks, very great tasks. I mention three of them to you. They are fundamental: the conditioning of all the armed forces of the State; the economic-financial battle; the constitutional reform. (*Approbation.*)

Conditioning of armed forces.—You recall that I went to Locarno. Locarno is a city located on Lake Maggiore. (*Laughter.*) I went because it was a question of accomplishing a political and diplomatic act of fundamental importance.

Note that I do not wish to make a digression on foreign politics; I shall speak on foreign politics in the Senate, but at some later time, for I should consider myself dishonored forever if I were to inflict two discourses on the Nation in the same month.

The architecture of Locarno is as follows: France and Germany make an agreement reciprocally not to attack each other, and there are, aside, watching to see that the agreement is not broken, England and Italy. It was important that Italy at that moment should place itself on the same footing with England and make itself a guarantor of that peace on the Rhine which is in reality the peace of Europe.

But at Locarno something more and better was done: it performed an operation of pure chemistry, of distillation; it manufactured the spirit of Locarno. Gentlemen, the spirit of Locarno to-day, after scarcely two years, is extraordinarily discolored. (*Hilarity.*)

I assert it here, without any polemical intention; it gives me the impression of the similarity which can be detected between the murmur which is heard in a sea shell placed close to the ear and the roar of the ocean. It is not the same thing, obviously.

What has happened? It has happened that the Locarnist nations, to call them thus, are arming themselves furiously by land and by sea; it has happened that in some of these nations people have even dared to speak of a war of doctrine which ought to be incited by democracy, by the immortal principles, against this irreducible Fascist Italy, anti-democratic, anti-liberal, anti-socialist, and anti-Masonic. (*Applause.*)

Then, there have been manifestations to which it would be criminal to close our eyes, inasmuch as what I reproach democracy with is this: that it forms a type of man or people, and really believes that this man or people exists. From this the atrocious disillusionments, tragedies, and slaughters of history.

Gentlemen, there was the other day the great Berlin parade of the spiked helmets. They numbered 120 thousand, and this might interest us very mildly; but one of their banners bore this motto: "From Trieste to Riga." Insane, paradoxical, *gaffeuse,* if you wish, but it is a fact. Then? Then the unmistakable, fundamental, prejudicial duty of Fascist Italy is to condition all her armed forces of land, of sea, and of air. (*Repeated and prolonged applause.*)

We must be able to mobilize five million men at a given time and be able to arm them; we must strengthen our navy, and our air forces, in which my belief grows ever stronger, must be so numerous and so powerful that the roar of their motors will drown out any other sound in the peninsula and the covering of their wings obscure the sun above our land. To-morrow, then, we shall be able, when between 1935 and 1940 we have newly reached a point which I might call crucial in European history, we shall be able to make our voice heard and see our rights recognized at last. (*Very loud reiterated applause.*) This preparation still requires some years.

The economic and financial battle.—And there is, besides, the economic and financial battle.

I do not wish to anticipate the discourse which my friend and colleague Volpi will give next Thursday in this assembly; but all the same it is necessary that I say something. And here my polemics will become pungent, and here I shall play in six sharps, violin key, of course. (*Laughter.*)

You remember that last summer, when the pound sterling (let us speak of the pound as being at parity with the dollar, for so England desires, as do all the strong nations) went to 140 and to 150, there were sweet smiles all about. All the anti-fascisti seemed to have a word of common order: fine thing, Fascism; great man, the Duce; however, nobody knows how, look at the rate of exchange: the pound sterling is at 140! Something more, gentlemen, is needed than your dictatorship. The bankers of Wall Street and of the City cannot be given castor oil. (*Laughter.*) The policeman's club does not raise the thermometer of exchange!

Well, there followed my discourse at Pesaro. My discourse at Pesaro, which was impromptu, naturally. I will have to say, however, that I had thought it over for three months and that on August 8 I gave notice of it to the Minister of Finance in a letter at least sixteen pages long. My improvisations are of that nature! (*Approbation.*)

What did I say? That the Fascist Régime could not accept defeat in the field of finance. It may endure it, if to-morrow its strength will be greater than its desire, but certainly it cannot submit to it. (*Approbation.*)

And then, since my discourse at Pesaro (which I gave at Pesaro simply because I happened to be passing through there in the afternoon (*Laughter*), because it is a pleasant town which I like, but which I could have given also at Sassoferrato, for I have never thought that to make an interesting speech one must mount a brilliant rostrum), the ironic and sarcastic smiles have disappeared.

But now, what is happening? When the other day the pound sterling, to my very great pleasure, went to 85, it seemed that there was in sight a national catastrophe. All around were seen even grayer faces, as if it were a question of establishing everywhere branch offices of Raveggi. (*Loud hilarity.*) "But it is ruin! But it is a national catastrophe!" Thus the Stock Exchange element bemoaned itself, thus the manipulators of securities and of exchange.

I hold these men in fairly high esteem, but sometimes, when I see them with their distinguishing mark in their buttonhole, they nauseate me. (*Loud applause.*) And that is not easy, considering my diet. (*Laughter.*)

But where, then, is this catastrophe, gentlemen? Do not cry too soon! Do not bandage your heads before you have bumped them! (*Laughter.*) Slowly! Be calm, you calamity-howlers at the rise, who previously howled at the fall.

As far as I am concerned, the history begins in October, 1922. If you take the high point of the pound sterling, then yes, we have a gain of 60 points; but if you take the average quotation of 120, the gain is reduced to 30 points, and if you turn to the quotation at the time of the March on Rome the gain is reduced to 15, for at the time of the March on Rome the pound was at 105 and 110. But then, gentlemen, we had a balance showing a deficit, we had unpaid foreign debts, a régime which was just starting and which thus could not even be supposed to last; we had a passive balance of payments. What is this gain of 15 points, now that we have systematized the national debt and the foreign debt, now that we have struck a balance and have a surplus, now that we have limited the circulation? This is the prize, the modest prize which the Italian people has merited after five years during which it has worked like a nigger, or, if you wish, like a hero and like a saint. (*Loud applause.*)

However, let these preoccupations be calmed; we have not gained anything; we have retaken the positions which we held in 1922. We will call them "quota 90" and on this quota let us await the whole strength of the army. We will remain here the necessary and sufficient time for all the economic forces to level themselves at this quota; which forces, however, did level themselves rapidly and willingly when the rate of exchange, going down, made kangaroo jumps. (*Applause.*) To-day they find insurmountable difficulties because we are proceeding toward amelioration with the gait of a grasshopper. All that is miserable! (*Loud applause.*)

The corporate State. The institutional problem of Parliament.

We have created the corporate State. This corporate State places before us the institutional problem of Parliament. What is happening to this Camera? Meanwhile this Camera, which has notably, nobly, and constantly served the cause of the Régime, will continue for its normal period.

All those who wished to dissolve and suppress it, as if in punishment, will certainly be deluded.

But it is evident that the chamber of to-morrow cannot resemble the chamber of to-day. On this day, May 26th, we solemnly bury the false conception of a democratic, universal suffrage.

But what is this universal suffrage? We have seen it put to the test Out of 11 million citizens who had the right to vote, there were 6 million who periodically made light of it.

And the others, what value can they have, when the vote is given to the citizen simply because he has reached the age of 21, and thus, the discriminative criterion of the capacity of the citizen is bound to a question of chronology or of simple civil status?

To-morrow there will be a Camera, but this Camera will be elected through the corporative organizations of the State. Many of you will return in this Camera, many of you will find your natural places in the Senate, some in the Council of State, some in the prefectures, in the diplomatic and consular career, where the Régime can be notably served, some others will retire to private life. (*Hilarity.*)

It cannot be thought that all may be hierarchs; men are needed also in the ranks. Besides, does the Nation perhaps feel the electoral need? It has forgotten it, and is it very necessary for us to have, by means of a vote, the declaration of the consensus of the people? Let me think that this is not absolutely necessary. Toward the end of this year or in the coming year we will establish the forms by which will be elected the corporate Camera of the Italian State.

Fascism has created the Italian State, based on unity, but meanwhile I come to an essential point of my discourse, perhaps the most important. What have we accomplished, Fascisti, in these five years? We have accomplished an enormous, secular, monumental thing. What? We have created the unified Italian State. Consider that from the time of the Empire on, Italy was no longer a united State. We here solemnly reaffirm our doctrine concerning the State; here I reaffirm not less emphatically my formula from the speech in the "Scala" at Milan: all within the State, nothing against the State, nothing outside the State. I can in no manner conceive of an individual in the Twentieth Century able to exist outside the State, save in a state of barbarism, in a state of savagery.

It is the State alone which gives self-consciousness to peoples. If the people is organized, the people is a State, otherwise it is a population which will be at the mercy of the first group of adventurers within or of whatever horde of invaders may come from without. For, gentlemen, only the State, with its juridical organization, with its military force prepared in time, can defend the national collectivity; but if the human collectivity is broken up and reduced to the mere nucleus of the family, a few Normans will suffice to conquer Puglia. (*Applause.*)

What was that State which we took over as it was breathing its last, gnawed by constitutional crises, debased by its organic impotence? The State which we conquered at the time of the March on Rome was the one which has been handed down from *1860* on. It was not a State, but a system of badly organized prefectures, in which the prefect had but one preoccupation, that of being an efficient electoral errand boy.

In that State, until 1922, the proletariat—what shall I say? the whole nation—was absent, refractory, hostile.

To-day we announce to the world the creation of the powerful unified Italian State from the Alps to Sicily. This State expresses itself in a centralized, organized, authoritative democracy in which the people move about at will, because, gentlemen, either you place the people within the citadel of the State, and it will defend it; or it will be outside, and will assault it. (*Applause.*)

Gentlemen! A discourse like this will not bear perorations! I only say to you that within ten years Italy, our Italy, will be unrecognizable to herself and to foreigners, for we shall have radically transformed her in appearance, but even more in soul! (*Very loud, general, prolonged, reiterated applause in which the tribunes join. The President, the ministers, and the deputies rise to their feet in acclamation. Repeated and enthusiastic cries of* Viva il Duce!).

2. PARTY, NATION, AND STATE [16]

. . . Of the 40 million who form the Italian population to-day, the 10 million adult males—no need to speak of women in a community of warriors—fall into two categories: those who, as members of legally recognized organizations, count as citizens of the Corporative State, and those who are left beyond its pale.

These latter have neither political freedom nor personal rights; they are excluded from certain professions (journalism, diplomacy, etc.) or tolerated in others (public officials, barristers, etc.) as long as they do not openly put themselves in opposition to the party in power. If they are working men, they are employed only when members of the legal unions are all in work. They pay local and national taxes; they pay their annual contribution to the legally recognized organizations of their trade, as determined by the Government; they perform the obligatory military service, and are legally entitled—will they be actually allowed?—to say 'yes' or 'no' to the list of 400 candidates for the Chamber, drawn up by the Grand Council of Fascism. The correspondent of the *Morning Post,* April 28, 1926, writes:

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[16] By G. Salvemini. (Taken by permission from a book not yet published.)

> "Either a man swallows Fascism whole or he is considered a political pariah."

How many are citizens of the "Corporative State" and how many the pariahs?

The statistics of the New Era, as we have frequently observed, are singularly wayward. In his interview with the *Daily Express,* January 24, 1927, Mussolini stated the membership of the legally recognized organizations to be 20 million.

> "More than 20 millions of Italians—he declared—are members of our syndicates. Fascism rests on the broad foundation of the free will of 20 millions of Italian workers who are members of our corporations."

Franco Sacchetti, an Italian story-teller of the 14th century, narrates that Bernabò Visconti, the Tyrant of Milan, demanded to be told how far it is from the earth to heaven, how much water is in the sea and various other things useful and pleasant to know. A miller answered him: "From here to heaven is 36,854,072½ miles and 22 paces; have it measured out and if it is not so, have me hanged; in the sea there are 25,982,000 tuns, 7 barrels, 12 bottles, 2 glasses of water; let it be measured and if it is not so, have me quartered." Mussolini's statistics are something like those of the miller.

Signor Villari is more moderate. In the *Times,* November 28, 1927, he wrote:

> "The organisations of workers and employers already comprise from six to seven million members, and are increasing day by day."

But this figure represents almost the whole mass of employers and employees who pay the compulsory contributions through tax-collectors, not those who have been admitted to membership. Mussolini, four months earlier than the *Daily Express* interview, i.e., in a speech of October 5, 1926, fired off the round figure of 3 million: "Let them be measured, and if it is not so, have me quartered." In June, 1927, Signor Rossoni, President of the General Confederation of Fascist Unions, in a speech at the International Labor Office Conference, gave the same figure of 3 million, stating it to include "not only industrials and agricultural workers but also commercial employees and intellectual workers."[17] In March, 1928, the number of Fascist Trade Unionists was given as 2,809,641.[18]

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[17] Report of International Labor Conference, Geneva, 1927, pp. 218-219.

[18] I give this figure without swearing that it is not invented. Signor Bottai (Under-Secretary of the Ministry of Labour), in his speech of March 15, 1928, gives the membership of employers in land transport as 22,500, and that of the employees as 247,334; a day later in a speech of March 16, 1928, Signor Marchi, President of the National Confederation of employers in land transport gave the whole number of persons, employers and employees, engaged in land transport as 112,754, of whom 18,366 are employers and 94,987 employees. (*Popolo d'Italia,* March 17, 1928.) The clash between Signor Bottai's and Signor Marchi's figures is evident.

The number of employers organized in the Fascist associations was given as 885,968. . . .

These 3.7 million citizens must be divided again into two classes: those who are members only of the legally recognized organizations,and those who are also members of the Fascist Party. The first enjoy the privileges pertaining to the legal organizations but in them they have no other function than to carry out the orders of their officials. They are passive, not active citizens.

Active citizenship is bestowed only on those who are members of the Fascist Party, which controls the whole population. It exercises this control through the following bodies of officials:—

(a) the civil servants and local officials, who are eligible for employment only if they are members of the Party, or only remain in office as long as they do nothing in their official capacity or otherwise, which brings them into opposition with the Party;

(b) the Presidents, secretaries, and lesser officials of the legally recognized organizations of Employers, Employees, Professional Men and Public Officials, who must be members of the Party, and can be dismissed the moment the Party ceases to trust them;

(c) the officers and men of the Militia, who must all be members of the Party.

Through the public officials, maintained at the taxpayer's expense, the Party controls all the activities of the country, which fall within the field of public administration, both central and local; through the officials of the Fascist organizations, maintained by compulsory contributions from all producers, whether organized or not, the Party controls the economic life of the country; and through the Militia, maintained at the taxpayer's expense, the Party controls the political life of the country and suppresses by force any attempt at opposition. . . .

"The Party—writes the Neapolitan paper, *Lo Stato,* February 5-6, 1928—is the living aristocracy of the revolution, on whom the Duce has bestowed the high honour of providing the State with the men who are to rule the community."

At Fascist manifestations, Mussolini has the habit of putting to his followers the question: "To whom must Italy be given?" and the followers respond: "To us."

In short, the present political constitution of Italy may be defined as the dictatorship of the Fascist Party over the entire population of 40 million.

In this respect the Fascist régime is twin brother to Bolshevism. A systematic comparison of Fascist laws with Bolshevist laws will presumably lead to the conclusion that most Fascist laws correspond to, and are of later date than, some Bolshevist laws, i.e., are a mere imitation of Muscovite models. The dictatorship of the Fascist Party is even more absolute than that exercised by the Communist Party in Russia. In Russia the control of the Communist Party tightens as one passes from the rural communes to the cities, from municipal administrations to the provincial governments, and from these to the central government; in rural communes, the peasants retain the right of electing the local administrators who retain a large measure of initiative. In Italy, the Fascists have abolished self-government, even in the smallest rural communes, thus setting up the most rigid administrative centralization that history has ever known.

What is the membership of the Fascist Party? Even here the figures have been subject to wide fluctuations until 1927, as the following table shows:—

1925	February	Enrolled in the Fascist Party........	250,000[19]
"	March 31	" " " " "	365,000[20]
"	September	" " " " "	700,000[21]
1926	February 27	" " " " "	425,000[22]
"	March 30	" " " " "	637,000[23]
"	April 1	" " " " "	700,000[24]
"	April	" " " " "	800,000[25]
"	"	" " " " "	545,000[26]
"	June	" " " " "	915,562[27]
"	August	" " " " " about...	1,000,000[28]
"	October	" " " " "	1,000,000[29]

In 1927 the figures become coherent:[30]

1927	January	Enrolled in the Fascist Party........	940,000[31]
"	July	" " " " "	960,000[32]
"	September	" " " " "	1,000,052[33]
"	November	" " " " "	1,024,546[34]

[19] *Popolo d'Italia,* 27th February, 1926.

[20] *Popolo d'Italia,* 6th April, 1926.

[21] Villari, *Fascist Experiment,* p. 54.

[22] *Popolo d'Italia,* 27th February, 1926.

[23] *Popolo d'Italia,* 6th April, 1926.

[24] Proclamation of the General Secretary of the Party, Signor Turati. *Popolo d'Italia,* April 2, 1926.

[25] Villari, *Fascist Experiment,* p. 54.

[26] Statement by Signor Farinacci, General Secretary of the Fascist Party, in April 1926; *Regime Fascista,* Aug. 30, 1926. (Reproduced in the *Voce Repubblicana* the following day.)

[27] *Il Lavoro d'Italia,* Aug. 3, 1926.

[28] Statement by Signor Farinacci, *Regime Fascista,* Aug. 30, 1926.

[29] Mussolini's speech, Oct. 5, 1926.

[30] The membership according to data supplied by the Italian Embassy at Washington, D. C., was 1,040,508 men and 106,756 women on July 31, 1930.

[31] *Corriere della Sera,* Jan. 9, 1927.

[32] *Corriere della Sera,* July 7, 1927.

[33] *Times,* Sept. 7, 1927.

[34] *Corriere della Sera,* Nov. 9, 1927.

If we credulously swallow this last figure, we can state the Fascist régime to be the dictatorship of one million men over a country of forty million.

But even this figure does not go to the heart of the system. Among this million men, we must distinguish the leaders from the rank and file. The rank and file enjoy privileges compared to the passive citizens and the pariahs, but must submit blindly to the will of the leaders. These, not the rank and file, exercise the real political power and are therefore the ruling class in the "Corporative State."

How many are these leaders? The Officers of the Militia number twenty thousand; the Officials of the legally recognized organizations can be estimated at twenty thousand; the Podestà in charge of the Communes, the Secretaries of provincial Federations and of local branches of the Party, the editors of influential daily papers and weekly reviews, and the deputies may be estimated at twenty thousand. In all, we may count that the country is controlled by an oligarchy of not more than sixty thousand people.

This oligarchy in turn is organized in a rigidly centralized system, in which the lower ranks are appointed by their superiors, and owe them blind obedience. The General Secretary of the Fascist Party appoints the Provincial Secretaries; these, in their turn, appoint their own executives and the secretaries of the local branches. And these again appoint the local executives.[35] Therefore the central nucleus of the oligarchy, termed the true "government" of the country, is composed of the very small number who form the "Grand Council of Fascism." This was set up in January, 1923, shortly after the "March on Rome," and as explained, it is composed of the Central Executive of the Fascist Party, of the Ministers in Mussolini's cabinet, and any others whom Mussolini invites to attend the sittings: on an average, twenty to twenty-five persons.

At the head of the Grand Council is Mussolini. The Grand Council has no power of decision; it discusses and gives opinions. The Dictator accepts or rejects these; he does not even ask for them unless he thinks necessary. His decisions immediately become law for the Party, the Militia and the legally recognized organizations. In the case of public servants and local officials, Mussolini can appoint whom he will after consultation with the Council.

In the Party all members take an oath of allegiance to Mussolini, as Duce of the Party: he has power to expel and degrade to the rank of pariahs any member who does not show himself sufficiently loyal. In the Militia, officers and men take a special oath of allegiance to Mussolini as General-Commander: he nominates, promotes, rewards, punishes and dismisses officers and men. As Head of the Government he controls public administration through the Ministers, whom he nominates and dismisses.

[35] See the Statutes of the Party in the *Stapma,* Oct. 12, 1926.

As Home Secretary and Minister of Labor he directly controls the economic life of the country through the legally recognized organizations.

This, in conclusion, is the constitution of Fascistized Italy; a population of forty million which is controlled by a Party of one million men, which is ruled by an oligarchy of sixty thousand, which is governed by a camarilla of twenty-five which is presided over by a single man.

In Dostoevski's novel, *The Possessed,* written in 1871, Shigalëvo develops his program for the society of the future:

> "I must first point out that my system is not yet completed, not yet entirely worked out. For I have got entangled in my own arguments: my final conclusion is diametrically opposed to my original idea. Although I started from the notion of unrestricted freedom, I arrived in the end at absolute despotism. I may add, however, that there can be no possible solution but mine."

Another member of the meeting explains Shigalëvo's program in the following terms:

> "He proposes to divide mankind into two unequal parts: only the smaller part, about a tenth of the whole, will enjoy personal freedom and unrestricted power over the other nine-tenths. These nine-tenths must entirely renounce all personality and become, so to speak, a herd, in order, through absolute obedience, by a series of regenerations, to regain their original innocence, almost like the old Garden of Eden, although, as may be remarked in passing, they will have to work. The measures proposed for depriving nine-tenths of humanity of their personal will and for turning them into a herd by means of a new education during whole generations, are uncommonly remarkable, and are in addition based on the facts of nature and are highly logical." [30]

To Fascism even better than to Bolshevism can apply the above prophetic passage from Dostoevski's *The Possessed.*

In the Fascist doctrine this system is justified by the axiom: "The Fascist Party is the State and the Nation," which is for Fascist Italy what the axiom: "Things which are equal to the same thing are equal to one another" is for Euclidean geometry.

In the terminology of the "Old Era," the Nation is a group of men having a common civilization, who consider a given territory as their country, and possess, or aspire to possess a common political organization; the State is the network of the governing bodies who control a given territory, which may be inhabited by different nations. Parties are political organizations into which the citizens range themselves with the object of directing the governing bodies (i.e., the State) according to the ideals cherished by each party. Louis XIV could say *"L'état, c'est moi"* because, as an absolute monarch he alone was presumed to control the governing bodies of his realm: the existence of parties was inconceivable. Under oligarchic rule, that privileged section of the population which controlled the governing bodies was regarded as the State, while the rest of the population, having no political rights, remained outside the State: the oligarchy might split up into parties. Under democratic rule, in which political rights were enjoyed by all citizens, the word State was loaded with two different meanings: the network of the governing bodies and the community as a whole, *"l'ensemble des citoyens considéré come un corps politique"*; the division of citizens into different parties was regarded as an essential feature of the system.

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[30] Quoted by René Fülop-Miller, *The Mind and Face of Bolshevism* (London, George Putnam's Sons, 1927), p. 288.

In the Fascist doctrine the ideas Nation, State and Party are all merged into one single notion. Signor Maraviglia, one of the chieftains of the Party, in a speech made at the Fascist National Congress of June 22, 1925, demonstrated, as surely as two and two make four, that in the new Corporative State, the three ideas, like three equal triangles, coincide in all respects.

> "Many difficulties arise from the ambiguity of applying the epithet 'party' to the Fascist movement. The name 'party' has to be retained for historical reasons, because it is as a party that our régime fought and conquered. But, the democratic conception of party should be rejected by Fascism. Fascism is the nation, inasmuch as it includes and unifies the whole national community. This notion is contrary to the idea of party. Party is the reverse of universal. In the Fascist State, the party is simply a militia in the service of the State. It can only be conceived in this way. It is not a party struggling against other parties to defend and seize the power. It holds the power in its own right, inasmuch as it defends the State." (*Cheers.*)

The semi-official Fascist organ, *Tribuna,* December 2, 1926, writes:

> "The old free State was based on two conditions: political freedom and the party system. All parties were recognised and tolerated under free rule. To-day Fascism has entirely superseded this theory and practice. Not only have all other parties ceased to exist, but, what is more important, Fascist rule is universally recognised as being the necessary condition for the life of the Nation. Fascism has achieved perfect coincidence between State and Nation."

No law has yet officially proclaimed the Fascist Party to be the Nation and the State. But in the "New Era," practice always precedes theory, and jurisprudence preludes legislation. For instance, the general secretary of the party, has, as we have already seen, the power to decree that wages must be cut throughout the country. He modifies by circulars of his own the regulations issued by Ministers.[37] He receives the Prefects of the provinces and confers with them on the situation in their provinces,[38] as if he were Home Secretary. In Court ceremonies he ranks among the highest personages of the realm and is on the same footing with the President of the Supreme Court, the ambassadors, et al.[39] Officials of the Fascist Party must be regarded as public officials, as a ruling of the Judge of Turin, in June, 1927, declared, and in consequence the internal affairs of the Fascist Party enjoy the same privilege of secrecy as the public service.

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[37] In February, 1928, he authorized the provincial Joint Committees of Employers and Employees (*Comitati Intersindacali*) to take into account, in compiling the indices of the cost of living, certain products, such as eggs, potatoes, wine, meat, etc., which the Ministry of Economics had left out of its calculations.

> "The laws concerning the interests of the community—this judge declared—can not be interpreted apart from the political conditions of the moment. Art. 248 of the Code of Penal Procedure, according to which public officials can not be forced to give evidence, does not apply only to Government officials. In the said article 'Government' is equivalent to 'State.' The hierarchy of the Fascist Party, being an organ of the State, must enjoy the same treatment as the organs of the Government. With Fascism, for the first time in the history of modern nations, the reduction of political parties to a single one has become complete. Therefore, we have the absolute identity of the State with the party in power. The State is Fascism and vice-versa. The organization of Fascism is the central part of that organization of the State which permits of the effectual political existence of the Nation and renders sane and practical government possible. In conclusion, the same necessity which justifies the application of art. 248 to the civil service, also justifies its application to Fascism, i.e., the State." [40]

Had the confusion between the ideas of Nation, State and Party stopped at this point, the consequences would already have been far-reaching. But it does not stop there. The Fascist State is not only that particular political and administrative organization through which the Fascist Party to-day controls the Italian Nation; it is optimum Government; it is the culmination of history from the age of the cave-men to October 30, 1922, when Mussolini marched on Rome in a sleeping car. The Italian Nation is the Chosen People, destined to announce to mankind the end of the liberal, democratic era, and the beginning of a new civilization, the Fascist civilization. The Italian Fascist Party is the torch-bearer of this new civilization, the salt of the earth.

Signor Bodrero, Under-Secretary for Education in Mussolini's Cabinet, gave at Milan in February, 1928, a historico-philosophical address, in which he develops the following theme:

> "Every great civilisation has produced a type of man who seems the embodiment of the characteristic features of the whole race at a given moment of its history. Greece gave to the world the type of manly beauty and goodness. Rome created the type of the strong and wise man. We have had to wait for the twentieth century before the Fascist appeared; the miraculous man, who

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[38] *Stampa,* Sept. 3, 1927.

[39] *Corriere della Sera,* Dec. 18 and 21, 1927.

[40] *Corriere della Sera,* December 3, 1927.

> seems to embody the history of our race throughout the centuries, the type worthy of the new Italy, the imperial type to whom will be entrusted the task of restoring to our country her leadership in the world."[41]

All the ideas, semi-ideas and non-ideas with which the term "state" is weighted in Hegelian philosophy: the divine idea on earth, the State, the spirit becoming conscious of itself, the State its own end, the State having supreme rights over the individual, whose supreme duty is to be a member of the State, etc., etc., etc. These sonorous vacuities are the daily bread of all who read the political literature of Italy to-day.

The thinkers of the "Third Rome" (the First Rome was the Rome of the Cæsars, the Second Rome the Rome of the Popes, the Third Rome is the Rome of Mussolini) are captained by the titular philosopher of the Régime, Professor Gentile. Professor Gentile's brain is a system of inverted filters: ideas enter it clear and come out clouded. Words which in common use are full of straightforward meaning, become in his philosophy, emptied of all concrete significance, abstract but deep-sounding. They, therefore, exercise an irresistible fascination, especially over young people who have not yet reached the age of discretion. In case I am suspected of making a caricature, I reproduce a passage in which Professor Gentile explains what is, according to the Fascist theory, the State, and in what respects the Fascist State differs from the Nationalist State. Before imperiling my readers' sanity, I ask them to realize that the Italo-Teutonic thought of Professor Gentile is put before them in an English translation, in other words, it reaches them after passing through a fresh filter, the English tongue, which cannot help forcing even the cloudiest and most abstract ideas to assume a certain clarity and significance. After this warning the readers may begin:—

> "The politic of Fascism revolves wholly about the concept of the national State; and accordingly it has points of contact with nationalist doctrines, along with distinction from the latter which it is important to bear in mind. Both Fascism and nationalism regard the State as the foundation of all rights and the source of all values in the individuals composing it. For the one as for the other the State is not a consequence—it is a principle. But in the case of nationalism, the relation which individualistic liberalism, and for that matter socialism also, assumed between individual and State is inverted. Since the State is a principle, the individual becomes a consequence—he is something which finds an antecedent in the State; the State limits him and determines his manner of existence, restricting his freedom, binding him to a piece of ground whereon he was born, whereon he must live and will die. In the case of Fascism, State and individual are one and the same thing, or rather, they are inseparable terms of a necessary synthesis. Nationalism, in fact, founds the State on the concept of nation, the nation being an entity which transcends the will and the life of the individual because it is conceived as objectively existing apart from the

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[41] *Popolo d'Italia,* February 14, 1928.

consciousness of individuals, existing even if the individual does nothing to bring it into being. For the Nationalist, the nation exists not by virtue of the citizen's will, but as datum, a fact of nature. For Fascism, on the contrary, the State is a wholly spiritual creation. It is a national State because from the Fascist point of view, the nation itself is a creation of the mind and is not a material presupposition, is not a datum of nature. The nation, says the Fascist, is never really made; neither, therefore, can the State attain an absolute form, since it is merely the nation in the latter's concrete, political manifestation. For the Fascist, the State is always *in fieri*. It is in our hands, wholly; whence our very serious responsibility towards it. But this State of the Fascists which is created by the consciousness and the will of the citizens, and is not a force descending on the citizen from above or from without, can not have toward the mass of the population the relationship which was presumed by Nationalism. Nationalism identified State with Nation, and made of the Nation an entity preëxisting, which needed not to be created but merely to be recognised or known. The Nationalists, therefore, required a ruling class of intellectual character, which was conscious of the nation and could understand, appreciate and exalt it. The authority of the State, furthermore, was not a product but a presupposition. It could not depend on the people—rather the people depended on the State and on the State's authority as the source of the life which they lived and apart from which they could not live. The nationalistic State was, therefore, an aristocratic State, enforcing itself upon the masses through the power conferred upon it by its origins. The Fascist State, on the contrary, is a people's state, and, as such, the democratic State *par excellence*. The relationship between State and citizen (not this or that citizen, but all citizens) is accordingly so intimate that the State exists only as, and in so far as, the citizen causes it to exist. Its formation therefore is the formation of a consciousness of it in individuals, in the masses. Hence the need of the Party, and of all the instruments of propaganda and education which Fascism uses to make the thought and will of the Duce the thought and will of the masses. Hence the enormous task which Fascism sets itself in trying to bring the whole mass of the people, beginning with the little children, inside the fold of the Party."[42]

The reader—if his reason has stood this strain—can imagine what happens to these ideas in the heads of the lesser thinkers who march in serried ranks behind Professor Gentile: the magistrates who, by extolling Mussolini at official ceremonies, hope to supplant their colleagues in advancement or to become Senators; the lawyers who have had the premises of their anti-Fascist rivals destroyed, and have taken over their clients, and advertise themselves by Fascist speeches at political meetings; the manufacturers of philosophic by-products of the Gentilian system who aspire to a university chair or at least to a post in a secondary school; the journalists who must earn their bread by selling printed paper every day, and who would have to shut up shop if they did not provide a constant supply of enthusiasm; the deputies, the podestà, the local "Rasses," the secretaries of the legally recognized organizations of employers, employees, professional classes, and public officials, who must continually sing the greatness and the glory of the régime. . . .

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[42] Gentile, *The Philosophic Basis of Fascism,* in New York *Foreign Affairs,* January, 1928, pp. 301-303.

An example of the havoc wrought by Hegelian-Gentilian philosophy is Mlle. Lion's book, the *Pedigree of Fascism*. This is how Mlle. Lion explains the difference between the Fascist State and Nationalist State:—

> "There we touch what really distinguishes the Fascists from the Nationalists, for whom the State belongs to material reality, is transcendent in its relations to the individual, and negatively conceived in its relations to other states, where it appears one amongst many. It is a great engine that needs the coöperation of all the citizens to make it work, but it *does* exist independently of the citizens. Philosophically this conception belongs to the eighteenth century. For the Fascists, the State is not transcendent in its relation to the citizens; it is immanent; it is their own spiritual and economic life in its political summing up. In its relation to other states it is not negatively conceived as one among many; for its citizens, it is their national self, whilst the other nations are constitutive of their national non-self. The positiveness of the State for its citizens implies, therefore, for them, the negativeness of the other states. The task of the government is to raise the level and increase the value of the citizen . . . in order to have always the most intimate fusion of state and citizens. The empirical self requires that the peasant should plough his field. This he is bound to do to satisfy his material needs. Fascism says to the peasant: 'Thou shalt no longer plough, sow, reap for thyself, that is to say exclusively for thy material self, but for the State, which is that same empirical self plus its transcendental complement.'"[43]

No wonder the Italian peasants do not take kindly to this State, in which behind the staff of philosophic fog-makers marches the army of militiamen, "dagger in mouth and bomb in hand" as Mussolini put it in his speech of February 1, 1928, ready to ram it down their throats with the bludgeon.

In this Hegelian delirium-tremens which divinizes the Nation-State-Party as a mystical entity, omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent, infallible, the "relations between the individual and the State—declares Commendatore Appiani, Attorney General of the Supreme Court—are no longer those of yesterday.

> "Yesterday, the individual was regarded as the end, and the State as the means. To-day the State exists for the Race and the Nation, to which the fate of the individual is subordinated."[44]

The results of this conception were described by a special correspondent of the *Times*, August, 1927, in the following words:—

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[43] *Pedigree of Fascism*, pp. 34-36.

[44] Speech, January 5, 1927: *Corriere della Sera*, January 6, 1927.

"The Corporative State amalgamates companies, fixes prices, wages and hours of labour, determines the number of men that ought to be employed by this or that master, and, if necessary, takes upon itself the direct management of the factories. (Article 9 of the Labour Charter.) Both economically and politically the State is everything; it absorbs everything; it does everything. The State is always after you. When you are born and taken to the Register Office, the Corporative State reserves to itself the right of deciding the name your parents are to give you. Not all names are acceptable and accepted. Some may be intentionally anti-Fascist. The new Rocco Law forbids all names 'which sound as an offence to the present institutions.' After you have taken the name the State allows you, you pass to the nursery, the school, the workshop, the office. Everywhere the hand of the ogre lies heavy upon you. All your actions are watched, directed, and controlled by the State. At the age of 25 years, if still a batchelor, you are seized by the ear and led to the collector to pay a new tax—the 100th of the heavy taxes which form one of the charms of the new régime. In order to lighten the burden, one day you marry, and hope to be left alone for the rest of your life and to enjoy some peace within the walls of your home. Poor man! The ogre of the South peeps in again through your window and has another commandment for you—children, children, children! Twenty million new Italians are wanted in 25 years' time—all producers, of course."

Mussolini himself had described this State in the *Popolo d'Italia*, as early as April 6, 1920. The Government had introduced a daylight saving bill. The Communists protested that they did not intend to submit to this new method of counting the hours invented by the "bourgeoisie" to render even more pitiless the sweating of the proletarian. In some Turin workshops there were strikes in protest against the daylight saving bill. Mussolini was at that time playing the part of anarchist. He applauded all strikes; he found the Italian State as it then was—a wretched, free, democratic State in which people struck even against the daylight saving bill!—too active, too oppressive, altogether intolerable.

"I too"—he wrote—"am against the daylight saving bill because it represents another form of State intervention and coercion. The State with its enormous bureaucracy induces a feeling of suffocation. The State was tolerable to the individual so long as it contented itself with being soldier and policeman, but to-day the State is everything; banker, money-lender, gambler, sailor, procurer, insurance agent, postman, railway official, impresario, manufacturer, schoolmaster, professor, tobacconist, and a great number of other things, besides being, as always, policeman, judge, gaoler and tax collector. The State—this Moloch of fearsome aspect—does everything, controls everything, and sends everything to perdition. Every state undertaking is a calamity. State art, State schools, State postal services, State shipping, State trading, alike are disastrous —the litany could go on to infinity. The future prospects are terrifying. Socialism is merely an amplification, multiplication and perfection of the State. The bourgeois State now controls nine-tenths of your life and of your activities; tomorrow the Socialist State will control your every moment, your every deed or movement. To-day you are obliged to declare the number of your children, but tomorrow you will be forced to declare the exact number of your amorous adventures. Under the socialist régime, even love will be standardised, tailored, and mapped out for the use, convenience and pleasure of the hundred thousand socialist officials who will spring up under State socialism. If men had even a vague apprehension of the abyss which awaits them, the number of suicides would be increased. We are approaching the complete destruction of human personality. This State is the gigantic machine which swallows living men, and casts them forth again as dead ciphers. Human life has no longer any privacy or intimacy, either material or spiritual; all corners are explored, all movements timed, every man is pigeonholed on his particular 'shelf,' and numbered like a convict. The great curse which fell upon the human race in the misty beginnings of its history and has pursued it through the centuries has been to build up the State and to be perpetually crushed by the State!"

Nowadays Mussolini is continually repeating: "Everything in the State, nothing against the State, nothing outside the State," with the conviction of a Saint Paul writing: "In whom we live and move and have our being." If in this slogan, State stood for nation, the meaning would, with reservations, be acceptable. But in the "New Era" State means Party. The result is that an opponent of the Fascist Party must be destroyed as an enemy to the Italian State, and a traitor to the Italian Nation: *adversus hostem aeterna auctoritas esto*. Not only active opposition, but dissent in the innermost precincts of consciousness, is a crime deserving punishment. The General Secretary of the Fascist Party, Signor Augusto Turati, on September 19, 1926, addressed the following exhortation to the opponents of Fascism:—

> "Adversaries, if you still retain the slightest scrap of good faith in the bottom of your hearts, pause a moment to look at the magnificent spectacle of the new Italy, and afterwards persist, if you dare, in your opposition. But remember that, from to-morrow onwards, we can no longer show leniency. From to-morrow, we must take upon ourselves the terrible duty of penetrating into your very brains. And if necessary, we shall make a clearance of you by summary methods."

3. FASCISM AND RELIGION

(*a*) *Fascist Religion*[45]

Culturally, if not politically, Fascism's strongest rival is the Catholic Church. No secular force of any kind has ever begun to compete with the Church in controlling the daily life and imagination of the Italian people. For centuries the Church has impinged on every aspect of Italian social and private life. We need say nothing of the long periods during which the Church was also the State in many of the Italian provinces. Its control is much more direct and powerful than any political control can be. The whole intellectual frame-work of life is supplied by the Church. The supernatural world above this perishable material world, the salvation of the soul from the bonds of the flesh, the protection by the saints against disease, misfortune and death, the divine favor and intercession of the Virgin in all the personal issues of domestic and agricultural life, the religious care of the happiness of the members of the family both living and dead, these are the fundamental themes which still dominate the minds of the vast majority of Italians. This theological world dominates not merely in the sense that it is believed implicitly, but in the more practical sense that its moral technique is familiar. Divine protection and punishment are much more real and more conspicuous than their modern political equivalents. For every peasant and very child knows exactly how to govern himself according to divine law. The rather simple, at least intellectually simple, technique of penitence, confession, absolution, alms, indulgences, prayer and worship constitute the moral life of the people.

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[45] *Making the Fascist State,* Chapter V, pp. 216-219, by Herbert W. Schneider. Oxford University Press, New York, 1928.

What is politically even more important is that the Church has organized public life and social functions around this moral world. The calendar is made by the Church, and even the daily routine is governed by the ringing of the church bell. The Church takes the place of theater, opera and city hall. In addition to the imposing gilt, the lights and shadows and the sacred images which fill the churches, and in addition to the daily miracle of the mass, the Church has supplied abundant holidays and feasts, when the whole community gathers to celebrate the season. Cardinals and bishops, gay silks and velvets and brocades, gold and silver, candles and torches, fireworks and rubber balloons, confections and drinks! If you can imagine how a combined Christmas, New Year's Eve, County Fair, and Fourth of July (old style) would affect an American boy's mind and body, you may approximate a sense of the power which these celebrations have in an Italian community. And this happens not once a year, nor for miscellaneous political reasons, but with every season of the calendar and in celebration of some vital theme in the moral life of the individual and in the traditions of the Church. Add to this the treasure of art which centers in the Church, the intellectual and social prestige which it enjoys, its numerous charitable and educational institutions, its systematic care of the deceased, and you may understand why the Church has more of a hold on the masses than has the state.

In comparison the Italian state is hopelessly bare and empty. Being of recent date, headed by a half French royal house and conducted by a very prosaic Parliament, having only occasional military celebrations and still more occasional visits of the King to make it impressive, represented continually by boyish policemen, petty officials, and busy tax-collectors, it is comparatively quite remote and unattractive. Ever since the invention of expensive armaments, the Church costs less than the state, and yet offers infinitely more: festivals in this life and salvation in the next.

Hence the state has no chance whatsoever with the masses. Among the bourgeoisie, of course, all this is different. Corrupted by rationalism, indifferent to sensual display, or else given over to secular forms of sensuality and sensuousness, less worried about its sins, more worried about its prosperity, the bourgeoisie has turned to the state. Religion for the masses, politics for the rich—that is the traditional compromise.

A Sicilian priest named Don Sturzo upset it. In 1918 he got the idea of capitalizing the Church for political purposes, or politics for Church purposes—it is hard to tell which. He met the initial opposition of the Pope, who saw no reason why he should soil his hands on the state. But Don Sturzo persisted and soon persuaded the Pope by a few practical experiments. The result was that within two or three years Don Sturzo and his Popular Party succeeded in completely ruining Italian politics. All through the spring and summer of 1922, the veteran bourgeois statesmen tried to dislodge the Sicilian priest from his "dictatorship." But it was useless; the old game was up.

At first Fascism tried to take the Church by storm. Born in the years of bolshevist revolt, when even the industrial proletariat had temporarily turned anti-clerical, Fascism hoped to gain general favor by a violent attack. The futurist wing of the movement was naturally a sworn foe to this most *"passéist"* of all institutions. The ex-socialists, like Mussolini, were also anti-religious, as well as anti-clerical. The bourgeois liberals and republicans who joined the fascist ranks were the traditional political foes of the Church. Hence during the first year or two of the movement the fascist program was violently anti-clerical. As late as April 3, 1921, Mussolini spoke at Bologna as follows: "Fascism is the strongest of all the heresies that strike at the doors of the churches. Tell the priests, who are more or less whimpering old maids: away with these temples that are doomed to destruction; for our triumphant heresy is destined to illuminate all brains and hearts. Make way for the youth of Italy, whose faith and passion are demanding expression."

Events soon forced Fascism out of this position, two events especially: the evident strength of the Popularist Party which no one seemed able to dislodge and the influx into Fascism of the nationalists, who were modernist Catholics of the *Action Française* type. Mussolini therefore suddenly turned his back on the futurists and anti-clericals, as he did on the republicans, and made his peace with the Church. He became a defender of the religious exercises of women and children who were being persecuted in their public worship by barbarous bolsheviks. He revived the Mazzinian formula *Dio e popolo*. He preached the doctrine of the synthesis of the two Romes. He supported Rocca's position at the Fascist Congress in November, 1921, to the effect that "it is necessary to have a dogma for social life: the dogma, namely, that unity and power lay in Rome, in the Church there is the Catholic God, and in the modern State there is the *Patria*." Thus he finally persuaded the popularists into a coalition.

But when, shortly after his accession to power, the popularists abandoned the régime, it looked as though the *Fascisti* would be forced back into their former hostility to the church, and would have to declare open warfare. This would have been disastrous, of course. Instead they played a subtler, safer game.

They came to terms directly with the Church and not *via* the Popular Party. Mussolini promised immediately on his accession to protect the Church and religion and this news was headlined in all the Church papers. The Pope adopted a benevolent attitude toward the "Fascist peace" and the "end of civil strife." In December a Papal Encyclical came out as follows: "Though the Church does not condemn the democratic form of government, yet it is a well-known fact that this system of government is especially adapted to party strife." Soon after, by the joint action of the Church and government, Don Sturzo was kicked out of politics, his local organizations and syndicates were destroyed, and in the 1924 elections the clergy were required by the Pope to maintain absolute neutrality. Thus the old compromise was reëstablished: Religion for the people and politics for the bourgeoisie, spiritual authority and temporal authority, a "free church in a free state." The Pope was as content with this arrangement as a "prisoner of the Vatican" might reasonably be expected to be, and was ready to go back to the old status he had enjoyed for several decades before the ambitious Sicilian priest had upset normalcy. . . .

It is probable that Fascism will maintain its own list of martyrs and saints and continue to build up its own mythology. The elements of the new religion are already present in abundance.[46] First of all, the *Fascisti* lay much stress on their mysticism. Their political faith, they say, cannot be expressed in a consistent program, because it is mystical. Their love of violence is said to be a mystical devotion to a new faith, and an immediate intuition of a profound truth, which they were unable to define until *after* they had acted upon their vision. Hence they regard themselves as men of faith, spiritual to the core, and it is one of their commonplaces that Fascism has reëstablished idealism in a world of skepticism, and has asserted the duty of fighting for transcendent values against the current doctrine of waging class conflicts to protect one's own rights. Furthermore Fascism has revived the primitive Christian joy of martyrdom. A true Fascist thinks only of his duty, and regards any sacrifice which he may be called upon to make in the performance of it a privilege. This is the inner driving force of the new religion.

[46] An amusing, sacrilegious, and of course unofficial Fascist parody on the Creed is reprinted in Ludovic Nadeau: *L'Italie fasciste ou l'autre danger,* pp. 132-4.

Thus Fascism represents a religious revival. Not in that it proposes to found a new religion and develop its own theology, but in that it has given to thousands of Italian youths an ideal for which they are ready to sacrifice all. A number of *Fascisti* have confessed to me, quite privately, that they would not willingly die for their Christian faith, nor for democracy, nor for socialism, nor even for their King, but for Mussolini—gladly and unhesitatingly. They claim that Fascism represents more than merely one faith among many. They will not admit that the socialist "Martyrs" are on an equally ideal plane; for, they say, in the first place, Fascism has superseded other faiths, has won the allegiance of the very men who formerly professed less satisfying faiths; and, in the second place, it has made its appeal in the name of sacrifice or to a transcendent, non-personal good, not in the name of class interests or salvation of one's soul, or defense of one's rights or any other selfish motive.

(*b*) *Catholicism and Fascism*

One would rather expect that an opportunist ruler would endeavor to come to terms with the very considerable power of the Catholic Church, particularly if his rule needed all the support it could secure. Thus it is not strange that as an atheist in 1909 Mussolini could declare, "Fellow workers! If within five minutes God does not strike me down, I have demonstrated to you that God does not exist," and yet in 1929 he could recognize the spiritual independence of the Pope and acknowledge his own allegiance to him.

In his early years of dictatorship Mussolini insisted that the Catholic Church had nothing to do with education, that it was solely the prerogative of the Fascist State. At that time he suppressed the Catholic boy scouts and declared that the State was over all and above all. In 1929 Mussolini could sign an agreement with the Pope and settle all differences. It must therefore be recognized that at the moment Fascism is trying to secure the support and prestige which agreement with the Catholic Church may bring. In order to understand what this agreement between the Pope and Mussolini means, let us recall the historical setting.

Up to 1870, the Pope was not only the Supreme Head of the Church but ruler of the states belonging to the Church, which included several petty principalities. When Napoleon removed the French garrison in 1870, Victor Emmanuel took the city. In 1871 the Italian Government enacted a law covering the "prerogatives of the Supreme Pontiff" which was called the Law of Guarantees, but Pope Pius IX refused to accept it, and he as well as succeeding Popes have remained voluntary prisoners in the Vatican.

Now in 1929 Mussolini reaches an agreement with the Pope and ends this period. The settlement is divided into three parts, a treaty which has international value and affects the Universal Church, a concordat which governs the relations between the Vatican and the Italian State alone, and a financial agreement. To begin with the last item, Italy promises to pay the Holy See 750,000,000 lire or about $80,000,000 and also to give 5 per cent negotiable Italian State Bonds to the nominal value of one billion lire. This money is some compensation for the property of the Catholic Church seized since 1870.

In the international treaty the sovereignty of the Holy See over Vatican City is recognized, which thus becomes the smallest independent entity with an international status in the world. Catholics regard this as advantageous because it proves preposterous the charge that the Pope is really seeking a temporal rather than a spiritual government.

The treaty vests all power in the hands of the Pope. Any supplies coming from abroad to the Vatican have absolute freedom of entry without custom duties or taxes.

The Concordat which governs the relations between the Vatican and the Italian State recognizes the validity of marriages performed in the Church without any civil ceremony. It also recognizes that the teaching of religion shall be compulsory in the Italian schools and that teachers and text-books on religion shall be approved by the Pope. Children, however, whose parents do not desire them to have religious instruction in the public school need not attend such exercises. Bishops named by the Pope can be vetoed by the State, if they are objectionable on political grounds. Every Bishop, before installation in a particular diocese, has to take an oath at the hands of the Premier swearing to uphold the welfare and the interest of the Italian State. Naturally it is recognized that religious organizations have the right to own property.

The new constitution of the State of Vatican City came into force on June 10, 1929. On May 13th and 25th Mussolini made speeches before the Italian Chamber and Senate, justifying his agreement with the Pope. In the course of this defense Mussolini said that Christianity might have died out had it not moved its headquarters to Rome. In reply the Pope says: "What of all things we least expected were expressions that are heretical, worse than heretical, regarding the very essence of Christianity and of Catholicism." The Pope also objected to many other things which Mussolini said, as well as to his attempt to reassure the Italian Parliament that the State had renounced nothing to the church and had lost no control. The Pope says:

> "We are displeased and if there were any animosity or bitterness in our soul, we would say we are offended by those not infrequent expressions that nothing has been renounced by the State to the Church, that no control has been lost, that the means have been preserved for exercising vigilance over her, over the clergy, regular and secular, as if to say the least, it was a question of a suspicious people; as if the Church had ever attempted a true and real usurpation or spoliation to the injury of the State, whereas history proves and it is well known that the contrary is true in Italy and abroad; as if the Church ever had demanded that the State give up the right and authority which truly belonged to the State, whereas she is recognized to be the defender of both especially in times of crisis and difficulty; whereas the Church has never demanded nor does she now demand from the State anything but the right to just and orderly coöperation for the common good, and that that coöperation be in accordance with justice and adapted to the ends proposed."

The Pope also disliked Mussolini's comments on education and showed it plainly by the following:

> "Logic further requires that it be recognized that the full and perfect mission to teach does not belong to the State but to the Church, and that the State may not prevent nor interfere with her in the exercise and fulfillment of that mission, not even to the extent of restricting the teaching of the Church exclusively to the teaching of religious truths."

Shortly after the Pope had written this letter, the Italian Government on July 8th sequestered the Catholic publication *Youthful Life* on the ground that it tended to draw "Italian Catholic youth away from the legitimate authority of the Italian State."

It can thus be seen that while Mussolini has made peace with the Vatican under terms which have significance for the entire world, this does not at all mean that the Pope endorses or approves of Mussolini or Fascism.

From a sociological standpoint it is apparent that Mussolini is trying to secure the advantages of associating with Fascism the authority, prestige, and social control of the Church. In some measure he has no doubt achieved this result through the Treaty and Concordat. On the other hand, this support hangs by a slender thread and, as can be seen, the Pope will tolerate no interference with what he considers his religious rights.

V. SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE UNITED STATES

I. AMERICA AND FASCISM

Americans have not perhaps realized that the Fascists themselves believe that the whole world will turn to Fascism. They, scarcely less than the Bolsheviks, believe that they have a universal panacea for the ills of the world. In fact Count Giovanni Elia, speaking at the Williamstown Conference, August 5, 1929, said:

> "We believe that little by little as the mental, political, and social forms of the past throughout the world approach a definite and fatal decadence, the world will turn in its perplexity for a new fount of knowledge and life to that which is a new and original creation of Italian genius."

American sentiment has, on the whole, been friendly to Fascism and violently opposed to Bolshevism. Many of our newspapers and periodicals, including the *Saturday Evening Post,* praise Fascism and Mussolini. They look on the Duce, his technique, his power psychology, as a great example for the rest of the world. In Boston some of the wealthy have framed portraits of Mussolini in their drawing rooms. Our captains of finance and our ambassadors return from Italy glorifying the Italian dictator. The United States Government goes out of its way to reduce its debt to Italy; on the other hand, for a long period of years it refuses even to recognize a Soviet government. What is the reason for this difference in treatment?

One wonders if it is not because Fascism more closely resembles America as she now is. Does it not have much in common with our dominant business culture? At any rate, Mussolini told the representatives of the American press that he found more parallels for Fascism in the United States than in any other country. Mussolini also believes that we manage to continue democracy in America because we really do not have it. In part this is because wealth exerts an influence and in part because we still have only two parties. He has said:

> "When the sheep lead the shepherd; when the soldiers of an army can conduct a better campaign than an experienced and technically trained general; when the sailors can command a battleship in action, then democracy will be accepted as an efficient form of government. You point to the United States Government as efficient, and think that proves the worth of democracy. But you are efficient just in proportion as you have grown away from democracy. . . . Can the President be called before your Congress? Do his ministers have to appear before any body whatsoever to defend their acts? Not at all. . . . If you like to call that democracy, very well, but it seems to me more like autocracy limited to a fixed term in office. Another thing—your Congress is now efficient—fairly so—because it has in it but two parties. Just as soon as you get three regularly constituted parties its efficiency will disappear and a people like yours, used to swiftness and certainty of action, will not tolerate the resultant chaos." [47]

A moment's reflection will convince one of the partial validity of this statement. Fascism is a bulwark of capitalism. It protects private property and champions profits. Richard Washburn Child, in lauding Mussolini, says that the heart of his program for Italy is "Work and Discipline." Fascism emphasizes achievement and efficiency. It tests a creed not by its philosophy but by its action. "Deeds, not words," is a motto both of American business and of Fascism. Fascism believes in 100 per cent nationalism and so does the American patriot. Mussolini bases his right to seize the power on the theory that "the end justifies the means." According to James Truslow Adams, one of the most distinguished historians in America, the winner of the Pulitzer prize of 1922 and until 1912 a member of the New York Stock Exchange, America has become a business culture with a business philosophy not unlike that of Mussolini. He says that the business man demands a free hand to gather wealth and absolute state protection once he has it: "He may steal the water resources of a dozen states, but once they are stolen, he is a defender of the Constitution and the sanctity of contract."[48]

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[47] Abbott, Willis J., *Mussolini,* Italian Historical Society Pamphlet No. 2.

Perhaps the closest analogous movement in America to Fascism is the Ku Klux Klan. To be sure, the Klan craze in the United States did not continue as long as Fascism has in Italy; but then it never controlled the United States government, suppressing all opposition parties and denying to opponents freedom of speech and of the press. Let us consider some of the parallels between the Ku Klux Klan and Fascism.

The Klan believes in white supremacy; so does Fascism. The Klan was attractive because of its mysterious power—it inflicted secret whippings at night on those who opposed its tenets. Similarly, Fascism has had its strong-armed squads, its whippings, and its castor-oil treatments. The Klan parades, sallies, and midnight parties provided an outlet for the average American's love of excitement and adventure midst the drab monotony of small town life. Similarly, Fascism provided excitement, adventure, and the spectacular to soldiers who had returned from a "glorious" war. The Klan undoubtedly furnished compensation to those suffering from an inferiority complex. A great many Americans feel that the full measure of their hopes of achievement has not been fulfilled. The Klan gave them an opportunity to be important, to belong to an organization that was ruling and helping, so they thought, to make America a better place to live in. It provided an outlet for egoism and the sense of importance. Now Fascism undoubtedly plays a similar rôle in Italy.

In that country every one is supposed to be like-minded in support of the Duce and Fascism. In fact Fascism demands like-mindedness. The Klan in America demanded that all should hold the same views about

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[48] *Harper's Monthly,* July, 1929.

America, that all should build mental stereotypes of a particular kind. Thus it traded on the traditional hates and prejudices of white America. The individual by himself might feel ashamed to insult a Catholic, but acting through an organization which plays up exaggerated propaganda about the rule of the Pope he gives free rein to hates and prejudices. So it is in Italy. Of course the Fascists have not the same prejudice against Catholicism and the Pope, since that is the dominant religion there; but Fascism matches the Klan in persecuting Bolsheviks, socialists and other critics of the *status quo.*

It seems probable that this attitude was enormously stimulated by the war spirit. During the War a great deal of anti-German propaganda had been circulated and fear had been aroused of spies and other foes of the native land. Now both the Klan and Fascism could play on the fears thus excited and their supporters could give full expression to those fears.

Unlike Bolshevism, Fascism can never become a unified international force, because its egoistic national spirit cannot cross state borders. Nevertheless the spirit of Fascism can exist anywhere, disguised in the nationalistic dress of each country. Both Fascism and the Klan foster a narrow nationalism and "one-hundred-percentism." The Klan said: "We must make America safe for the white race"; "America for the Americans; away with foreigners who criticize"; "Get out or get under—get out of the country or under the flag." Fascism says: "Italy is for the Italians; we must build again the empire that was Cæsar's."

The Klan has ceased to be of compelling force, but some form of Fascism is always a potentiality in America: it is so close to our temper and our prejudices. It might be said that Fascism is the counter-revolution of the middle and upper classes. If these groups should find their power seriously threatened, they would doubtless make use of powers similar to Fascism. Indeed we already have American brands of this movement: vigilance committees, "red"-baiting organizations, and patriotic heresy hunters are of the same genus. Fascism thus becomes a possible technique whenever democracy fails. Nor are symptoms lacking that democracy is not functioning well. Economic power, wealth, is becoming concentrated into fewer hands. Though democracy is talked about a great deal, it is not always practised.

One great safeguard against Fascism is universal free education. The most serious threat to democracy is the uninformed and unthinking average man. Italy has a large illiterate class; many of her people do not understand democracy. To the extent that America can train her people to think intelligently for themselves, we have a prophylactic against Fascism. As protection against Fascism we must be sure that we have freedom of thought, of the press, and of association. This is perhaps the most certain vaccine against the toxins of arbitrary power. Concretely, it means that in time of strike or national emergency we must preserve the full right of the minority to express itself. H. M. Kallen went to Italy looking for a renaissance of the arts. "But what I saw and heard and read left me with the feeling that where art and thought are concerned, Fascist Italy is not alive, but drugged or dead. Amid the superlative inheritances from the past, I could find among all the pictures that I saw and music that I heard, no present breath stirring."

This throttling of creative work in art is one sign of rigid censorship and the absence of freedom. Freedom is written into our constitution because we once fought and died for it. As Justice Holmes so cogently stated in his dissenting opinion in the Schwimmer case: "Some of her answers might excite popular prejudice, but if there is any principle of the Constitution that more imperatively calls for attachment than any other it is the principle of free thought—not free thought for those who agree with us but freedom for the thought that we hate."

America feels sympathetic towards Fascism because lately she has forgotten the heritage of the past. Apparently each generation has to learn again for itself the meaning and value of freedom and liberty. Having prospered mightily in material things, America sees no necessity for completely suppressing the free utterance of those who oppose private property and of those who advocate a new economic order. However, if such groups really threatened the present holders of political power, the latter would find the use of violence an easy and natural step. Yet, to impartial students of history, Fascism is an object lesson, proving once again the rigid necessity for the three-fold freedom: of speech, of the press, and of assembly.

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